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THE HURTS OF HALDWORTH

AND THEIR REMEDIES AS
OBTAINED FROM THE HURTS
COLLECTION OF 1841

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THE HURTS OF HALDWORTH
AND THEIR DESCENDANTS AT
SAVILE HALL, THE ICKLES,
AND HESLEY HALL

BEING
A STUDY OF SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE
IN PAST TIMES;
MORE PARTICULARLY IN HALLAMSHIRE AND
AT NOTTINGHAM DURING THE REIGN
OF ELIZABETH, AT ROTHERHAM
UNDER CROMWELL, AND AT
SHEFFIELD IN THE
EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY

BY
SIR GEORGE RERESBY SITWELL
BARONET

OXFORD
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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P R E F A C E

THE Hurts of Haldworth in the parish of Ecclesfield were apparently a younger branch of the Hurts of Ashbourne in the Peak, a family of which the then representative obtained from Norroy in 1565 the grant of a crest to accompany his 'olde auncient armes'. Walter Hurt, who settled at Haldworth about 1546, was related to the Eyres of Hope, and this connexion lasted for more than a century, two of his children and two of his grandchildren marrying descendants of the Nicholas Eyre who fought at Agincourt. Of the Haldworth branch, the only person in any way prominent was Richard Hurt, thrice Mayor of Nottingham under Elizabeth, and member for that borough in the Gunpowder Treason Parliament of 1604-11. His name is on the great bell of 1595 at St. Mary's church, which still, in accordance with the inscription, peals forth on Sunday its 'trumpet-call to the battalions of the godly'; in June 1603, when Anne of Denmark with Prince Henry and a 'glorious attendance' of peers and great ladies was riding from Edinburgh to the coronation at London, he presented on behalf of the Corporation a silver cup three-quarters of a yard high. Richard's nephew, Nicholas son of Nicolas Hurt of Savile Hall, was agent at Wentworth to the great Lord Strafford, a post which, though unimportant, must have been exceedingly interesting. Valentine, son of the second Nicholas, moved in 1670 from the ancient dower-house of the Reresbys, called 'The Ickles', to Hesley Hall in Ecclesfield; his younger son married in 1727 Catherine Sitwell, the eventual heiress to Renishaw.

The writing of family histories has added much to our

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knowledge about the social and domestic life of our ancestors. If this larger purpose be kept in view, such a book may well take the form of a series of essays rather than of a continuous narrative. In Hallamshire and in the Peak amongst the descendants of the old free-tenant families, life during the first half of the sixteenth century differed little from that of mediæval times; in order to explain this more fully, the Introduction deals with the growth and development of classes. Three chapters have been given to a study of Nottingham in the age of Elizabeth, one to Rotherham in the time of Cromwell, three to Sheffield during the reign of the first two Georges; the book affords also some useful information about houses, furniture, and local history.

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INTRODUCTION

ECCLESFIELD, in which the chapelry of Bradfield and hamlet of Haldworth lie, is a vast parish covering seventy-eight square miles and in great part remaining even now as the first palæolithic hunters found it. It is a land of moss and ling and heather, poor in population and produce, rich in moor and chase and woodland; in bold craggy precipices and rocky terraces of savage grandeur, in lonely ravines threaded by murmuring rivulets, in mysterious moated mounds and ramparts, haunted barrows, and heaps of lichen-stones; in prehistoric trackways which lead back to British times and beyond; in folk-lore tales and faint half-remembered traditions of the Danish conquest and the deeds of Robin Hood. Here Scott found the forest scenery of wide-branching oaks which he describes in the opening chapter of *Ivanhoe*, and here in surroundings suited to robbers or deer-stealers Robin was born. For it was in this very hamlet of Bradfield, according to Dodsworth, that he wounded his stepfather to death at the plough, and first took to the woods as an outlaw, a broken man.

The district was famous for its oaks, of which many must have exceeded in antiquity the nine centuries allowed by the poet Dryden:

The monarch oak, the patriarch of the trees,
Shoots rising up, and spreads by slow degrees,
Three centuries he grows, and three he stays
Supreme in state, and in three more decays.

A survey of Sheffield Park made for Lord Arundel in 1637 states that 'there are within this Mannor very stately Tymber, especially in Haw Park (on the Riveling), which both for straightnesse and bignes there is not the like in any place that I can heare of, beeinge of length about 60 foote before yow come to a knott or bowe, and many of them are two ffathomes and some two ffathomes and a halfe aboute, and they growe out of such a rocher of stone that you could

hardly thinke there was earth enoughe to nourish the roots of the said trees'. 'It hath been said by Travellers that they have not seene such Tymber in Christendome.'

In 1660-4, Evelyn obtained particulars about some of the giant trees which then or not long before were to be seen there. At the upper end of Rivelin stood 'The Lord's Oak', which, having outlived many generations and some races of mankind, was looked upon with reverence, almost with awe: this had a bole fourteen feet four inches in diameter and in circuit thirty-six feet. In the Hall Park, close to the spot where the tables of the Roman legionary were found a hundred years later, the trees set closer together rose to unaccustomed height: one of these lifted itself fifty-four feet in the air before knot or branch, being then a yard and six inches square, and not much bigger near the root. In the Home Park 'The Lady's Oak', with arms holding at least four foot square for ten yards in length, had been found to contain forty-two tons of timber; the body, six foot of clean timber. Another tree furnished 10,080 feet of boards, while a third made, or would have made, two forge-hammer beams—that is to say, was over four feet square at forty-five feet from the ground. Here was to be seen an oak so great that when felled two men on horseback could not see each other's hat-crowns across the trunk; there, another which was thirteen feet in diameter at the kerf, or cutting-place near the root. A tree standing near the old ford had a span of thirty feet, while another, extending its branches fifteen or sixteen yards from the trunk, held up a canopy which could shelter two hundred and fifty horsemen. When Evelyn wrote, a few survivors of this mighty race still threw their shadow over the farmlands into which the park had been divided. 'I am inform'd,' he says, 'by a person of credit, that in the same park one might have chosen 1000 trees worth above 6000 *li.*, another 1000 worth 4000 *li.*, & *sic de ceteris*. It is believ'd that there were a thousand much above that value, since in what is now inclos'd, it is evident touching 100 worth a thousand pounds.'

Old customs, like immemorial trees, lingered long in Ecclesfield. In the latter half of the seventeenth century,

there was a village pack of hounds (1), and bear-baiting was carried on in the open space near the south-west corner of the churchyard; funeral garlands hung in the church, and thickets of holly at the entrance to the various hamlets furnished winter feeding for the sheep. On 'Sembly Tuesday' the freeholders rode in to Sheffield with horse and armour to exercise their weapons and to practise at the quintain, which stood in front of Lady's Bridge, close under the castle walls. Harrison, in his Survey of 1637, mentions the custom. 'I cannot heere omit a Royaltie that this mannor hath above other mannors, that is upon every Sembly Tuesday is assembled upon Sembly Greene, where the courte is kepte, and neere unto the castle, at the least 139 horsemen, with horse and harnesse provided by the free holders coppie holders and other tenants, and to appeare before the Lord of this manor, or the steward of this court, to bee veiued by them and for the confirmeinge of the peace of our Soveraigne Lord the Kinge.' Mr. Wilson the antiquary has a note that these meetings were abandoned in 1715. 'They met in the market dressed in different kinds of armour, to the number of two or three hundred. These being mett, exercised there; one thing was remarkable, a sand bag with Rings fixed to it was hung up, at which they rid a gallop with their swords to perce the rings. If they missed, the Bagg gave them such a knock it unhorsed them. After meeting there they rode up to the Town Hall in order, lead up by Bamforth, all in Buff and Armour, & so back again; after which there was a Dinner provided for them.'

This meeting seems to have been a survival of the show of weapons under the Assizes of Arms. In earlier days riding at the quintain had been part of the training of every youth who aspired to Knighthood. When Gerald de Barri was at Arras, he saw from the upper chamber of his hostel overlooking the market-place, the Count of Flanders and a great party of nobles making trial of their strength by breaking a lance or piercing through the shield with which the quintain was furnished. So too in *Garin le Loberain*, when the Duke dubs a hundred knights he sets for them a quintain equipped with a new shield and a strong, glittering hauberk.

All the young men having run their courses and having failed to do more than indent the mail of the hauberk, the Count calls for his boar-spear, and at a single thrust makes such a hole in the target as a quail might have flown through, breaking one strap and tearing off the others, yet still holding his weapon so firmly in hand that he is able to withdraw it (2).

Though the parish of Ecclesfield covered so vast an area, there were few if any resident gentry within it; none in the chapelry of Bradfield,* with which this book is more particularly concerned, though that alone contains more than 38,000 acres. But in place of gentry we find a number of ancient free-holding families—the Wilsons, Birleys, Creswicks, Mortons, Revells, Steades, Greaves, Morewoods, and Hawksworths, which intermarried amongst themselves and with others of like status in neighbouring manors. Hunter could see little of interest in these families. Of the Mortons, who entered their pedigree at Dugdale's Visitation, he writes that 'they were of ancient descent, but it was a race of yeomanry, living on a small hereditary estate'; of the Revells, that Gregory Revell 'is uniformly styled yeoman, which is inconsistent with the descent' assigned to him by the heralds from the knightly family of that name (4). Yet in the sixteenth century we find the Revells allying themselves with the Poles of Spinkhill, the Mores of Barnborough and the Burtons of Dronfield, all of whom had knightly ancestors, and in the seventeenth, quite a number of Ecclesfield families appeared at the Visitations, took out grants or confirmations of arms, or wrote themselves down in legal instruments as gentlemen. The description of Gregory Revell as 'yeoman' does not warrant the inference drawn by Hunter, for many cases can be produced in Eliza-

* In 1630-2, Christopher Wilson, John Morewood, John Greaves, Francis Ellys, and John Ibotson, all of Bradfield, paid compositions for not having taken the order of knighthood at the coronation of Charles I (3), but none of these persons bore arms or had put in an appearance at the Visitation of 1612. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the only residents in that chapelry who described themselves as gentlemen were the Morewoods of the Oaks, the Wilsons of Broomhead, and the Revells of Stannington. Two grandsons of the first Walter Hurt of Haldworth, namely Nicholas Hurt of Wentworth and Richard Hurt of Nottingham, are so described in 1643 and 1645; the latter is named in the Derbyshire Visitation of 1634 as having married a daughter of Draper of Culland.

bethan, some in Jacobean, days, of younger sons of old county families who had no hesitation in so styling themselves.* Class divisions in the sixteenth century were not the same as in the nineteenth, and cannot be understood without a study of earlier times.

In the twelfth century the lords of Hallamshire had granted out portions of their demesne to a number of principal vassals, of whom some were related to them by blood or marriage. There were at least eight of these manors, namely Darnal, Ecclesall, Shiercliffe, Cowley, Owlerton, Wadsley, Bolsterstone, and Midhope. The de Furnivals made grants of land also to certain minor tenants, such as the Birleys and Mortons, and the holders of the principal manors referred to infeuded in almost every hamlet some free-tenant, who followed his lord in war as an esquire or man-at-arms and served him in peace as a suitor in the manor-court, occupying in regard to him very much the same position as he himself held in relation to the de Furnivals.

The pedigree of these minor tenants of both classes—those to whom the lords of Sheffield castle made smaller grants and those infeuded by their principal vassals—can be traced back step by step into the thirteenth century. The Birleys of the Yews were collateral descendants of the Henry de Birley described in 1379 as 'franklin', and of the William son of William de Birley to whom, in 1317, Thomas de Furnival the third gave all the land which Robert de Midhope had held in the territory of Bradfield (5). William de Morton, ancestor of the Mortons of Spout House, had a grant (6) from the second Thomas in the time of Henry III or Edward I; he is one of those witnesses (described by Hunter, who here contradicts himself, as the 'prime aristo-

* The writer has met with two deeds of 1613 and 1620 in which as engrossed the principal having been described as 'yeoman', this has been altered *prima manu* to 'gentleman'. Nevertheless, as late as 1642 many younger sons of gentlemen were to be found amongst the yeomanry. Thomas Fuller, in his *Holy State* of 1642 (p. 143), observes that 'An heir is a Phenix in a familie, there can be but one of them at the same time. Hence comes it often to passe, that younger brothers of gentile families live in low wayes, clouded often amongst the Yeomanry'. A petition of 1625 mentions the decay of the class of yeomen once so flourishing. This may have been due to agricultural depression. See *V.C.H. Nottingham*, vol. ii, p. 290.

cracy of Hallamshire') to the charter given by Furnival in free marriage to Hugh de Nevile. The Creswicks were the heirs of that Adam de Creswicke to whom the Abbot and Convent of St. Wandrille in 1272-1307 gave property in Onesacre (7); his descendants acquired the manor of Owlington early in the reign of Elizabeth. Ralph de Greve or de Grove, with whom the pedigree of the Greaves of Morewood begins, was admitted in 1276 to lands at Fulwood; in 1521 Thomas Greve of Rotherham, a member of the same family, obtained from the heralds a grant of arms. The Steades can be traced back to the Peter de Stede of Wentworth and Onesacre who is described as 'franklin' in the poll-tax return of 1379. Richard de Rivell witnesses an undated charter of the second Lord Furnival relating to Haldworth; we find his successors, the Revells of that place, making use of an armorial seal in the second half of the fourteenth century. The coat of the de Waldershelfs or de Hunshelfs, from whom the Wilsons of Broomhead derive their descent (8), was to be seen in the church of Bradfield or of Ecclesfield in the reign of Elizabeth. The Morewoods, Hawkesworths, and Hartleys, who constantly occur as witnesses in about 1350-1400, were also people of some position and consideration. And here we may note a very significant fact. In a list of jurors summoned to meet at Sheffield in 1337, de Birley, de Creswick, de Hartley, and de Chapel, all minor tenants, are given precedence over de Mounteney, FitzWilliam, de Brailsforth, and de Midhope (9); the bailiff of Strafford and Tickhill could see no clear distinction of class between these knightly families, who held the principal manors, and the free-tenants to whom they or others had made smaller grants of land.

The bailiff undoubtedly was right. Though there were differences of position, there was no division of classes between them. From the legal point of view the lords of these manors ranked like the rest amongst the *legales homines* he had been ordered to summon; from the point of view of tenure, which was the real test of birth, all alike were tenants *in feodo*; from that of military status, all who were not knights or esquires were *valetti* or varlets, a word of

which the English equivalent was 'yongeman' or 'yeoman'. But classification at this period was still by tenure alone, not in accordance with military rank. King Richard's letter of 1193 is addressed to the 'archbishops, barons, clergy and frank tenants', and for at least a hundred years this continued to be the customary form in all royal epistles, save those directed to ministers or officials. So, too, of the subsidies raised between 1225 and 1334; every one without exception is granted by the earls, barons, knights and free-tenants. Charters of Edward I to 'all the free-tenants of Yorkshire', 'of Northumberland' or other counties, show how important to the King was the support of the minor freeholders, how little he was inclined to distinguish between them and their more powerful neighbours (10).

The families in which we are interested belonged then to the great class of free-tenants or franklins, a term which in its wider significance included all holding in chivalry or socage below the rank of a knight. They were tenants in franc fief, therefore equal in birth and origin to their lords, though inferior in position. Broadly speaking, there were but two classes, the *nobiles*, comprising earls, barons, knights, esquires, franklins or free-tenants, and the *ignobiles*, consisting of burgesses and villeins. Every tenant in franc fief was the peer of a knight, was bound to take up knighthood if his income became sufficient to support the dignity.* As regards marriage, the duel, the ordeal, and trial by one's

* Lyttelton is of course mistaken in thinking that socage takes its name from the French *soc* (ploughshare), those who held by this tenure being bound to come with their ploughs to labour on the lord's demesne. The real derivation is from the Anglo-Saxon 'soc' (exercise of judicial power), and socagers were so called because they held by suit of court. Du Cange, following Bracton, divides socage land into two kinds: *liberum*, quod socage en Franc tenure *Angli vocant, et villanum*. In France *feodum nobile* includes all franc fief, and *alodium*, which answers to our socage, is sometimes *nobile*, sometimes *villanum*. There is no doubt whatever that the free socagers were the successors of the earlier allodial proprietors; even Spelman admits that the *alarii* mentioned in Domesday Book are identical with those afterwards known as free tenants in socage. The statute of uncertain date for respiting of knighthood directs that as regards those persons who hold in socage, owing no foreign service, 'it shall be done as it used to be done'. Later on, all who hold in free socage to the value of £20 a year are liable to take up knighthood: Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 396; *Ancestor*, i. 89-90; Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*. The tenants in chivalry evidently considered themselves superior to the tenants in socage, but the difference, as was the case also between those who held *in capite* and those who held of a mesne lord, was one of rank and not of class.

peers, all were on the same footing. The son of the meanest freeholder was in wardship to his lord, and it was 'disparagement' to marry him to the daughter of a burghess or villein.*

In dealing then with the class of free-tenants, we must remember in the first place that they were a military caste. These are the *milites* of the twelfth-century records (11), who 'defend their land by the hauberk' (12), who pay scutage or shield-money, the 'men sworn to iron' in the picturesque phrase of the royal writs under the Assizes of Arms. The richer free-tenant may be a knight or may have to serve in lieu of a knight, the poorest rides to war under his lord's banner armed with helmet habergeon and lance, or with sword coustil and bow. They come of families which have served in battle generation after generation, and have a samurai's virtues: loyalty to their leader, courage, endurance, the knowledge when and how to die. Feudal loyalty is one of the three great motives for human action known to the northern epic, and many a romance glorifies as a martyr the vassal who dies fighting for his lord (13). The other public function of the free-tenants is the administration of justice; they are the judges for the shire, the hundred, the manor; men whose business it is both in criminal suits and in pleas of land to 'make judgements' (14), determining not the facts of the case but the law; men whose truth and honour can be relied on, who abhor the faithlessness of the villein, the perjuries of the merchants, the great towns where the herb of falsehood grows, holding that any freeman who stoops to take part in trade degenerates from the dignity of his rank (15).

We must remember that in every district they were few in number. In Domesday we find no free-tenants nor socmen except in the Danelaga (16). In some manors even at the end of the thirteenth century there were none, in many there are less than five, and one of these often bears the

* The position of the free-tenant has been generally misunderstood. In R. H. Gretton's *The English Middle Class*, published in 1917, we are told that 'the freeman of the manor was tied to the manor. If he left it, he could not enter another manor as a freeman. He was not in a better position, either financially or socially, than the villein.'

name of 'le Freeman' or 'le Franklain', thus leading the mind back to the period not long antecedent when his ancestor was the only freeholder in the place (17).

It is true that their properties were small, to our eyes often ridiculously small, but these little freeholds were nearly all in meadow and pasture, which was far more valuable than arable; there were no rates; taxes were negligible; the pastoral rights may have trebled the profit;* the natural fertility of the soil had often been doubled by marling; the owner farmed it himself, his stock, &c., being three times the value of the fee simple, and the profits of agriculture according to Thorold Rogers averaged eighteen *per cent.* upon the total capital employed. Taking all these facts into consideration, one would not be surprised to learn that a hundred acres well-stocked may have given a tenfold return as compared with the unimproved rental, forming in every respect as valuable and profitable an estate as a thousand acres in nineteenth-century England.

We must remember also that they were the best-educated class in the community. Grossetête was the son of poor parents, possibly of a serf, but the great English bishops of the Middle Ages and the clergy, both lay and ecclesiastic, came almost without exception of free parentage. The author of *Piers Plowman* expresses the custom of the time:

For shold no clerk be crowned, bote yf he ycome were
Of franklens and free men.

The villein could not send his children to school without his lord's consent, and though this could be obtained for a small payment, up to the time of the rising of 1381 it was seldom applied for. The King in 1391 refused the petition of the Commons that no serf or villein be suffered to put his children to school in order to procure their advancement by clergy, though the request was put forward 'in maintenance and salvation of the honour of all free men in the kingdom' (18), and by a statute of 1406 the door was finally

* In 1637 the Bradfield commons were estimated at the enormous total of 14,696 acres or twenty-three square miles. The relative importance of freehold and grazing rights may be judged by the fact that the little property of 16A. OR. 10P. at Haldworth which came to the Sitwells from the Eyres and Kents had in 1843 allotments attached to it covering an area of 165A. IR. 25P.

opened to all classes, without distinction of birth. But in general the villein was not only careless about learning, he was hostile to it, regarding every educated man with suspicion and dislike. Walsingham goes so far as to say that Wat Tyler and his fellow-rebels in 1381 set themselves to root out the arts of reading and writing, to kill all who practised or taught them:

‘See too what they did against the faith; how they compelled masters of grammar schools to swear that they would never again teach grammar to children! And what more? They strove to burn all ancient muniments, and slew all such as could be found capable of commemorating to posterity either ancient records or modern events; it was perilous to be recognized as a clerk, and far more perilous if any were caught bearing an inkhorn at his side’ (19).

The illiteracy of the knightly class has been much exaggerated. In the Middle Ages they were the patrons of troubadour and poet, the benefactors of priory and abbey, therefore in touch with the culture of their time. Their sons from an early age were fostered in some great household, and their daughters were educated in a nunnery. Sometimes, as was the case with the Estuteville lords of Eckington, the successive heads of the family drew their domestic chaplains from a religious house which an ancestor had founded, sent their younger sons there to be trained for an ecclesiastical career, and consulted the Abbot upon all their temporal affairs. In the series of records known as the ‘Proofs of Age’, news is generally sent by a messenger, but we occasionally find knights corresponding with each other by letter, or keeping in their households a clerk to act as private secretary.* A very considerable number of private letters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are preserved in the Record Office.

Nevertheless, book-learning was not held to be necessary as a knightly accomplishment, and though the barons and

* Thus in March 1300-1, John Danyel of Tideswell in Derbyshire sends a letter to a relative to announce the birth of an heir, and in 1296 Fulk de Rucote of Oxfordshire retains as a member of his household a clerk who writes on his behalf. ‘Proofs of Age’, iv. 31; vi. 8, 53, 78.

ladies we meet with in mediæval romances sometimes correspond by letter, many were unable to read or to sign their names. Amongst the aristocracy, the training of children took a severely practical form. Boys were instructed in behaviour, in carving at meals, the games of chess and tables, in manly exercises and the use of arms; but a knowledge of letters was not always required of them. Even amongst those who entered the Church to take up family livings, many suffered from defective education, and being unable to rise above the subdiaconate could never celebrate mass nor administer the sacraments. 'Is this realm taught by rich men's sons?' writes Bishop Latimer; 'No, no, read the chronicles; ye shall find sometime noblemen's sons which have been unpreaching bishops and prelates, but ye shall find none of them learned men.' This ignorance of the upper class in England was very marked at the close of the Middle Ages, as is shown by a curious anecdote related by Pace in his Prefatory Letter to Colet:

'When, two years ago, more or less, I had returned to my native land from the city of Rome,* I was present at a certain feast, a stranger to many; where, when enough had been drunk, one or other of the guests—a prudent man, as one might infer from his words and countenance—began to talk of educating his children well. And, first of all, he thought that he must search out a good teacher for them, and that they should at any rate attend school. There happened to be present one of those whom we call gentlemen,† and who always carry some horn hanging at their backs, as though they would hunt during dinner. He, hearing letters praised, roused with sudden anger, burst out furiously with these words: "*Why do you talk nonsense, friend?*" he said; "*a curse on these stupid letters! All learned men are beggars; even Erasmus, the most learned of all, is a beggar (as I hear), and in a certain letter of his calls execrable poverty his wife, and vehemently complains that he cannot shake her off his shoulders right into the deep sea. I swear by God's body I'd rather that my son should hang than study letters. For it becomes the sons of*

* Pace returned to England in the spring of 1515.

† *Generosos*.

gentlemen to blow the horn nicely, to hunt skilfully, and elegantly carry and train a hawk. But the study of letters should be left to the sons of rustics."

'At this point I could not restrain myself from saying something to this most talkative man in defence of good letters. "*You do not seem to me, good Sir,*" I said, "*to think rightly. For if any foreigner, such as the envoys of princes are, were to come to the King, and an answer had to be given to him, your son, if he were educated as you wish, could only blow his horn, and the learned sons of rustics would be called to answer, and would be far preferred to your hunter or fowler son; and they, enjoying their learned liberty, would say to your face, 'We prefer to be learned, and thanks to our learning, wise, than boast of our foolish nobility.'*" Then he upon this, looking round, said, "*Who is this person that is talking like this? I don't know the fellow.*" And when some one whispered in his ear who I was, he muttered something or other in a low tone to himself; and finding a fool to listen to him, he then caught hold of a cup of wine.'

Education, up to the last decade of the fourteenth century, was thus the peculiar province of those occupying what we should now call a middle station. In the 'Proofs of Age' most of the witnesses belong to this class; many are officers of the household—esquires, stewards, butlers, &c.; many, as is shown by references to charters and by other indications, were free-tenants; and not a few combined both functions. Others were retainers who had accepted cloth and fee. These people were able as a rule to read, for they know the month and year of a birth by the date of their charters or by reference to an entry in the church missal. They sometimes speak of their schooling. Thus at the proof of age of Thomas de Verdon, a grandson of Sir Thomas de Furnival, born at Whiston near Rotherham on the 10th January 1279-80, two of the witnesses depose that at the time of his birth they had been at school (20). Other references in the time of Edward II are to the schools of Oxford, Cambridge, Lincoln, Nottingham, Hovingham in Yorkshire, and Norwalsham in Norfolk. Those of Ashbourne and Chesterfield had come into being before the

middle of the thirteenth century. Amongst the Wolley manuscripts a letter of Henry the Third's time has been preserved, beautifully written in a small scholarly hand, whereby Sir Henry, clerk of Ashbourne, thanks Simon the rector of Chesterfield for having procured for him from the Dean of Lincoln 'the mastership of your school'. He asks instructions as to the time of his arrival from the Rector, who had pressed for his appointment before the writer had even made application for the post. This school was still flourishing in 1337, when Sir Henry de Sutton, schoolmaster of Chesterfield, appears with Agnes his wife as holding land in the town. Schools indeed were much commoner than has been supposed, for they were to be found at every monastery, in almost every town, and in many parish churches. In the *Canterbury Tales*, even the wife of the miller, who is of course a freeman, has been 'i-fostryd in a nonnery' and can say her prayers in Latin.

The low wages paid to ordinary clerks and the wide dissemination of Lollard treatises are other indications that reading and writing were not uncommon accomplishments, and the frequency of political songs in Latin or in a 'macaroni' of Latin and English, shows that the language of the church-services and of the records was familiar to many.* Rogers indeed had formed the opinion that before the fifteenth century acquaintance with Latin was 'almost universal', and points to the bailiff's accounts rendered in that tongue from every manor in the kingdom, in which the structure is always grammatical and the genders as a rule are correctly given (21). Books were neither so rare nor so costly as historians have led us to believe, though great prices were given for those adorned with precious miniatures or initial letters in gold lapis and vermilion; they are frequently met with in inventories, and the value put upon them is small. At the beginning of the fourteenth century there were, according to Prior Eastry's catalogue, some three thousand works in the library of Christchurch, Canterbury. In 1300 a book of the Decretals is bought for Ely

* *Six Centuries*, 1884, pp. 165-6, 183.

Minster at the price of 3s. and a clerk is hired at a half-penny a day. In 1306 a school-book for one of the founder's kin at Merton College, Oxford, costs only 2d. In 1324 a *scriptor* engaged by the Countess of Clare for sixteen weeks to write a book called *Vitae Patrum* received 6d. a week. In 1346, by an agreement preserved in the York Chapter, a scribe undertakes to write a Psalter for 5s. 6d., and to illuminate all the Psalms with large letters of gold set in colour, being paid an additional 1s. 6d. for the metal. In 1357, a church book is obtained for Merton at the price of 4s. In 1379 eleven quires of Bacon's Mathematics are bought for 5s. 6d. (22). Books of Romance were in common use; in 1314 two such books amongst the effects of John Senekworth, bailiff of the manor of Gamlingay in Cambridgeshire, are valued at a penny halfpenny each. Songs and tales (23), perhaps music also, were copied freely and circulated pretty widely. Wright speaks of the number of fourteenth-century rolls of English history which have survived, and supposes that one of these manuals was to be found 'in every gentleman's family' (24).

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It will have been gathered from these particulars that there was much that was interesting, much that was attractive, about the life of the free-tenants. According to Wright, 'the knights and lesser landowners formed the most truly dignified and in general the most moral faction of mediæval society' (25); other historians have expressed a similar opinion, namely that the class most deserving of respect was that which occupied a middle station. The rise of so many families through the law or the Church, the frequent intermarriages in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries between knightly houses and families of franklins, show that courtesy and good manners were not confined to the upper ranks; indeed, what better proofs could one have of this than the marriage of Thomas de Brotherton, younger son of King Edward I, to the daughter of a simple franklin,* and the fact that in the returns to the poll-tax of 1379 the heads of many

* '*La fille de un Fraunclein, apele Alice.*' Not long afterwards, the young lady's father had become a knight.

ancient families* in Yorkshire were content to be so described?

If we wish to enter into the thoughts of these people, we must rid our minds of preconceived opinion. They lived in a world almost as unchanging as the giant oaks around them. In those days men did not believe in progress, were averse to improvement; they considered 'innovation to be dangerous, bad in itself, and that we must hold to old things, to that which has always existed' (27). The social theory that held the field up to the time of the Black Death, and is even to be found in *Piers Plowman*, was that of the Three Classes—that divine Providence had charged different orders of mankind each with its special duty: the priests, whose mission it was to pray for the living and the dead, to guide the world to eternal salvation; the military caste, intrusted with the duty of protection, of upholding justice, maintaining order, and defending their country against invasion; the villeins and burgesses, who were to feed and clothe the other two. This was the Christian order of society, ordained by God, and which it would be impious to disturb or doubt. Sometimes, as in the writings of John of Salisbury and Jacques de Vitry, the doctrine takes a metaphorical turn. Society is like the human body: the priests, because they are the spiritual guides of humanity, are the head and eyes; the nobles are the hands and arms; the rustics and burghers, the legs and feet, the base upon which the whole body stands. No one finds fault with the theory; the only complaint is that every one is neglecting his obvious duty. The clerics are idle men, who heap up riches; the soldiers fight among themselves and trample the feeble under foot; the burghers are usurers and robbers; the peasant is led by avarice to work on feast days, is loath to pay his tithe, and will risk his soul to gain a plot of land which belongs to his neighbour.

Society, then, was stationary. The position, the duties, the liabilities of every individual were fixed and unalterable, and even the great catastrophe of the Black Death breaking

* Amongst others, Midelton, Cawood, Dayvill, Hamerton, Ledes, Malham, Tempest, Aldeburgh, Clarell, Everingham, Gargrave, St. Paul.

in upon this tranquil world only ruffled for a moment the surface of the pool. The causes which tend to elevate or depress values remained for centuries at a balance. From 1260 or earlier, when the first recorded account of continuous sales and purchases begin, until 1540, prices hardly vary. The rent of land remains constant at 6*d.* to 8*d.* an acre. The average cost of wheat in 1260-1400 is 5*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, in 1400-1540 it is 5*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, and the movement in other commodities was hardly greater, if greater at all. Religion, law and custom were immutable. Thus the free-tenants of whom we are speaking learnt to regard life not as a thing in itself, but as part of a greater whole, of an existence which was to be extended beyond the grave and throughout eternity, of a family life which had long endured and might be maintained for centuries to come. They were proud of the long continuance upon the same holding which gave interest and dignity to their families, of the hereditary friendships which bound them together, and like the people of whom the Psalmist speaks, 'their inward thought was that their houses should endure for ever, and their dwelling-places to all generations'.*

In those days the care with which title-deeds had to be preserved made the past history of an estate easy to read, and the main facts of a man's tenure, that he held by military service, or in socage by the render of a rose or a gillyflower, were known to all his neighbours. The oaken houses in which men lived, the great chests, tables dormant, settees and buffets, even the accessories of dress, the sword coustil and buckler borne by the men, the silver buckles, brooches or ouches of their womenfolk, were made to last from generation to generation. Their estates were in theory in-

* At Worsbrough in south Yorkshire we find Roger Genne of Ouslethwaite marrying a daughter of John Elmhirst *circa* 1320, a second Roger marrying Margery Elmhirst in 1500 or thereabouts, and a third Roger marrying another Margery Elmhirst a century later (28). For three hundred years the families had lived side by side. In the Derbyshire church of Crich, a tombstone to the memory of John Kirkeland, yeoman, who died in 1652, states that his ancestors had been settled above 500 years in the hamlet of Wheatcroft (29). Archbishop Rotherham in his Will of 1498 mentions 'John Scott my cousin, who has an inheritance though small in the parish of Ecclesfield, successively descending in the same name and blood from a time beyond the memory of man'. The good Archbishop evidently regarded this as a matter of interest to others and of lawful pride to the individual himself.

alienable, and subject only to fixed liabilities. The advantage to agriculture of such conditions cannot be denied, for experience proves that no ordinary tenant will undertake lasting or permanent improvements, even if the law offers him compensation upon quitting his holding; nor will a freeholder do so, unless as FitzHerbert says, he is to take the whole profit '*and his heirs after him*' (30). For the individual such a tenure is much to be desired. In the eternal flux of time and change it gives the mind something to rest on; to the healthy and prosperous man cause to rejoice in the confidence that the rhythm of his life will be repeated, that his good fortune will be shared by his children and their descendants, while in moments of despondency the sick or dying may comfort himself with the reflection that though he shall himself pass away upon the stream, his name and race will endure. Indeed one may well doubt whether the vaunted wisdom of our time in facilitating the transfer of land really makes for happiness. Tradition and childish memories form a halo of association which cannot pass to a new owner. The possession of a long-descended property, however small, is an incentive to effort, a curb to self-indulgence, and life in the country districts would be very different to-day if in every village there were again two or three small estates of inheritance which the owner might in case of necessity let out for his lifetime, but which he could not alienate from his children.

Next after military service, farming in those days was the most important business of life, there being no other means of subsistence in the country districts. In the parish of Ecclesfield, which is twenty miles long by twelve broad, and is exceeded in size by only about a dozen others in the whole of England, the *Nonarum Inquisitio* of 1340-1 shows that, except for four chapmen with goods ranging in value from 30s. to ten marks, 'there are none within the said parish that live otherwise than by agriculture'. That state of things being almost universal, every man, from great peers like the Duke of Lancaster or Lord Berkeley to the poorest freeholder, cultivated his own land, and younger

sons of knightly houses settled down as a matter of course to a farming life in their native village. The smaller freeholds were nearly always in meadow or pasture, which was then worth seven or eight times as much as arable; every man's wealth was in sheep, and as these required little attention, the greater part of the year was left free for other duties and pleasures. Shooting matches, wrestlings, and ram-raising were common, and license to hawk or fowl over the wastes, to fish in the river, could be obtained at a small fixed payment from the lord of the manor.

In the life of these people, the Church, its ceremonial and symbolism, had an influence incomparably greater than to-day. All felt a pride in the artistic beauty of the fabric, and for decorating it with scenes and images, with silver vessels and painted glass, were ready to make contributions which considering the poverty of the land were not only generous but extravagant.* Thus they learnt to appreciate beauty of colour, amongst us almost unknown, to feel the charm of decorative and appropriate dress. Without this, success in painting and sculpture is almost impossible, for art should concern itself with the facts of its own time, with everyday life around it. Fostered by the churches, which were schools of design, an art of the people arose, which showed itself in the carving of gable-end and finial, the pattern of iron-bound chest and floriated slab.

In the class of free-tenants, there were of course wide differences of income and wealth. Some of them, like the franklin of Chaucer and Fortescue, were enriched with great possessions, many were of a middle fortune, many more held only a few acres of land, lived plainly, and dressed in homely russet. But all belonged to a privileged class. Even the poorest had a comfortable wooden house, was sure of food, raiment, fuel, and the future of those who were dear to him. As Dean Farrar says of the simple life at Nazareth nineteen hundred years ago, 'where there is no envy in the heart, where restlessness and ambition are under due control, such

* Roger Dodsworth says of Ecclesfield church that it is 'called, and that deservedly, by the vulgar, the Mynster of the Moores, being the fairest church for stone, wood, glass, and neat keeping, that ever I came in of country church'.

a state of life is not only tolerable—it is endowed with special elements of happiness’.

Poverty after all in the ordinary sense of the word is only a term of comparison, like largeness or goodness, and with this difference that it must be strictly conditioned by time and place. In every age the standard of comparison alters. Those who were deemed poor in the fourteenth century had advantages unknown to their remote ancestors, and those who were deemed wealthy had to forgo many material conveniences which the present generation can enjoy. We must remember also that what has been gained in comfort, which gives ease, may have been lost in beauty, which gives happiness, and that it is easy to do without luxuries which no one else possesses and of which one has never heard. How simple was the life of the manor-house in mediæval times, as shown by the contract for Darley Old Hall, by the existing building at Padley! ‘Six hundred years ago’, we are told, ‘the ancestors of the Derbyshire gentry, however substantial and ancient their families, lived the lives of yeomen, as their younger sons live to-day in the colonies, cultivating their own lands and selling their own wool and lead’ (31). This is true, but with reservations, both of the lords of manors and of the franklins, for though what we should now call comfort and luxury were unknown, though owing to taxation upon moveables little was spent on furniture, the fourteenth century was a time of wild extravagance in dress and retinue, upon servants and horses; of lavish hospitality. Bare simplicity was relieved by gorgeous display. In the ‘Proofs of Age’, the number of feasts given by private individuals, by Abbots, Abbesses, and Priors is very remarkable. Chaucer’s poor parson inveighs against the pride of clothing; the excessive cost of embroidering, the waste of cloth in disguising, indenting or barring, waving, peeling or bending; the so much punching of chisels to make holes, so much slitting of shears; the superfluity of length trailing in the dung and mire, as well of men as of women. He speaks also of saddles, bridles, and curious harness covered with precious clothing, with rich bars and plates of gold and silver; the pride of great retinues; the pride of the

table in excess of divers meats, as bake meats and dish meats burning of wild fire, painted and castled with paper; the great preciousness and curiosity of vessels and of minstrelsy.

Of life amongst the wealthier free-tenants, the will of Henry de Birley of Ecclesfield in 1391 is typical. It shows the pastoral setting, the rarity of luxuries such as silver-plate and drinking vessels, the great attendance at funerals, the love of hospitality and care for charity, but most of all the affection felt for the parish church. To his son, John, the Testator gives £40 sterling, a 'piece' or drinking cup of silver, twelve apostle spoons, two mazers and twenty sheep. To Agnes Kent his servant, twenty marks sterling and 100 sheep, two brass pots, one brass dish, and two beds. All his wool of the past year is to be sold for the fulfilment of his testament by his Executors, John de Birley, Sir Thomas Mountney, knight, William Vicar of Ecclesfield, and John Reynald, chaplain. There are gifts to the high altar, and to those of the Blessed Mary, St. Katherine, St. Nicholas, and St. John the Baptist; £5 is left for the making of bells, 13s. 4d. for the service of the high cross in the said church, 20s. for covering the chapel of Bradfield with lead. On the day of his burial £4 is to be distributed amongst the poor, and there are several bequests to celebrate masses for his soul, the souls for which he is bound, and all the faithful departed, but with the sensible condition, that if it seems expedient to his executors, 'other works of charity' may be substituted.

Henry de Birley is described in the poll-tax return of 1391 as 'franklin', a French term for free-tenant which had lately been adopted into the English language. That the word was applicable to the poorest tenant *in feodo*, as well as to the richest under the rank of an esquire, is clearly shown. In the metrical chronicle of Robert of Gloucester (after 1297), in Robert Manning's 'Story of England' (1338), and in the *Cursor Mundi*, it denotes simply a free-holder. The author of *Piers Plowman* uses it in the same sense, when he lays down that no one should receive the tonsure as a priest unless he comes 'of Franklens and free-men'. Chaucer

applies it not only to rich individuals, but to a whole class, when he says of the Friar

Ful wel biloved and famulier was he
With frankeleyns over-al in his contree;

Fortescue, too, in his *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, written as late as 1470, tells us that no English hamlet was too small for a knight, an esquire, or such a householder as is there commonly called a franklayne to be found in it, 'and also other free-tenants'.

It is true, and our historians have been puzzled by the fact, that in the returns from Yorkshire and some other counties to the Poll-tax of 1379, only a few well-to-do people are assessed as franklins. The reason for this seems to be that the statute was so worded, perhaps intentionally, as to allow a loophole of escape to the lesser landowners who formed the bulk of the parliamentary electorate. Every sergeant* and franklin was to pay 'according to his estate' a quarter or half a mark, but the meaning of the words sergeant and franklin had not been defined, and as (the custom of stating in legal documents the condition or degree of the persons named in them not having yet come into use) the position of the taxpayer could not be proved, there was wholesale evasion. The less substantial freeholder, whose estate was not proportionable to the assessment, naturally declined to be classed as a franklin, and so escaped with the quite inadequate payment of fourpence, the charge laid upon ordinary householders. But that such men were ordinarily known as franklins is shown by a few exceptions which prove the rule. Roger de Battersby of Easington in Yorkshire 'ffrankeleyn' and his wife, pay the sum of twelve pence: this is below the assessment laid down by the statute, but no doubt was 'according to his estate'. In Essex there are several franklins rated at 2s. or 3s., one at 5s., with a number of *libere tenentes* paying 1s., 2s., or 3s. 4d., while in Norfolk there is one franklin who is taxed at 2s., one also in

* The sergeant, according to the *N. E. D.*, was a tenant by military service under the rank of a knight. Villehardouin mentions that for the division of the spoils after the capture of Constantinople in 1204, 'two sergeants on foot counted as one mounted, and two sergeants mounted as one knight'. Sergeants in the catalogue of ranks usually come after esquires, but sometimes before them.

Shropshire. Evasion was the general rule, though methods varied. In Yorkshire the heads of quite a number of ancient families, of whom some surely must have been dubbed esquires, are rated as franklins; in the Isle of Wight several franklins are found, and in Northamptonshire a few are assessed at the lowest figure of 40*d*. But in the vast majority of counties no one is described as a franklin, no one pays the assessment laid upon franklins.

The statute imposing the Poll-tax is not easy to understand. In attempting to frame new subdivisions of society it apparently desires to use the term 'franklin' in a new sense, confining it to the richer free-tenants under the rank of an esquire. But this restriction, which did not become effective until 1414 or later, was due more probably to widespread reading of the *Canterbury Tales*. It is of course to Chaucer that we must turn for the highest type of the class with which we have been dealing. The social status of Chaucer's franklin has been misunderstood. He has come in the company of the man of law and ranks amongst the 'gentils' of the party, holding a higher position than the heads of many county families to-day:

At sessionours ther was he lord and sire;
 Ful ofte tyme he was knight of the shire.
 —A shirreve had he been and a countour,*
 Was nowher such a worthy vavasour.

He is a well-educated man, for though out of politeness he desires to be excused of his 'rude speche', explaining that he has never learnt rhetoric nor slept upon the Mount of Parnassus, he shows a familiar acquaintance with classical mythology and tells a story full of beauty and refinement. He is a lover of hospitality:

An housholdere, and that a greet, was he;
 Seynt Julian was he in his contree;
 —His breed, his ale, was always after oon;
 A bettre envyned man was never noon.
 Withoute bake mete was never his hous,
 Of fissh and flessch, and that so plentevous
 It snewed in his hous of mete and drynke.

* Financial officer for the county.

—Full many a fat partrich hadde he in muwe,
 And many a breem and many a luce in stuwe.
 Wo was his cook but if his sauce were
 Poynaunt and sharpe, and redy al his geere.
 His table dormant in his halle alway
 Stood redy covered al the longe day.

But his heart's desire is that his son, who prefers to pass the time in the dice-play, may 'leren gentillesse aright'.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, owing perhaps to the military spirit aroused by the wars in France, classification by tenure begins to disappear. In its place we have a new order of precedence according to the position a man holds or might be expected to hold in the royal host as a knight, an esquire, or a valet, the latter a Norman-French word which is already beginning to be translated into English as 'yoman'. The varlet (Latin *valettus*) was originally a military page ranking next after an esquire, one who, on account of his youth, or (later) because of insufficiency of means or other disqualification, was unable to take the higher rank. Amongst the French all young men of noble birth were varlets until they reached the age of eighteen (32). In *Garin le Lorrain*, when young Fromondin is knighted, forty-nine young varlets are knighted with him; in *Aucassin et Nicolette*, the son of the Count of Beaucaire is termed 'le gentil valet', and Marie de France, in her Lays often uses the word in speaking of a young squire or knight. We even find the three sons of Philip the Fair referred to as valets. In England the wards of the Crown are called *valetti* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as are also in the fourteenth certain members of Parliament who, we know, were descended from knightly houses (33). In one old English glossary 'vadlet' is explained as 'the eldest son of the King'. The pride that was felt in these chivalrous distinctions will be better understood when we observe that in 1247 the King of the Romans describes himself as *Willelmus armiger* (34), and that Villehardouin speaks of the son of the Eastern Emperor as '*le Valet de Constantinople*'.

In the thirteenth century the minor tenants in chivalry whose means did not enable them to support the rank of

knight or esquire, rendered as men-at-arms or habergeons the military service that was due; being noble by birth and capable of knighthood they ranked as *valetti*, this name was therefore given to the class of warriors with which they were found. By the middle of the fourteenth century very many in England were serving as hobblers or demi-lances and as archers, and these troops also came to be known as varlets; so high was the rate of pay amongst them, that in Hallam's opinion the private lances and even the archers must have been drawn chiefly from the 'smaller gentry and rich yeomanry' (35).

The English valet of 1363-1450 is, then, one who might be expected to serve as a man-at-arms, hobbler or archer, judging by the weapons he is bound under the Assize of Arms to keep in his house; in other words, the freeholder, not being an esquire, who has more than forty shillings in land or twenty marks in goods. The term was not applicable to the poorest freeholders, but included many men of wealth who would now be described as gentlemen.

All young men of position were brought up as pages in some knight or baron's household, and the word 'varlet', in its meaning of a military page who served his lord also at table, seems in the twelfth century to have become applicable to certain servants who may or may not have been of good birth. When Gugemar, in Marie's *Lay*, rides after a stag, a '*vallez*' rides beside him, carrying his bow, arrows, and spear. Being wounded by a glancing shaft, he calls his varlet, addressing him as a friend. "Friend," said he, "go forthwith and bring my comrades to the place, for I have to speak with them." Graelent, when a varlet riding upon a palfrey is sent to him by his faery mistress, kisses him. The varlet carries his luggage to the chamber where he is lodging, unpacks it, spreads a quilt upon the couch, and pays the reckoning.

The household ordinances of Edward II, adopted in 1318, show that there were at the English court esquires of the King's chamber, one of whom was to act as usher and to count the messes served in the chamber every day. There were also valets of the King's chamber in the military sense

of the word valet; men of good position who ate in the chamber, though they performed the menial office of making the beds, of holding and carrying torches. Besides these there were in the household '*valletes de mestier*', that is to say valets by profession, who served in kitchen, buttery, larder, and elsewhere. The distinction between those who were *valetti* by military rank and those who were *valetti* by profession is clearly shown by the fact that the former are never referred to as '*valletes de mestier*', and that the esquire who acts as usher in the chamber has a '*vallet de mestier*' serving under him. In 1367 the poet Chaucer became one of the valets of the King's chamber, and in the same year is referred to as *dilectus Valettus noster*, a title which according to Selden was 'conferred on young heirs designed to be knights, or young gentlemen of great descent or quality'. Ten years earlier, when only seventeen or eighteen, he had held the same office in the household of Prince Lionel, receiving for his dress a pair of shoes, a short cloak, and tight breeches in red and black. The English word 'yeoman' in like manner carried with it a suggestion of service. 'A yeman had he and servantes nomoo', we are told of the squire in the *Canterbury Tales*, and land-tenants being known as servants, Chaucer uses the phrase 'to serven his estate of yemanrie' in reference to the miller, who, according to the custom of that time, held the manor-mill on lease for a term of years.

The new division of the upper and middle class into knights, esquires, and valets first appears in the Petition of 1363 against excess of apparel. The Commons represent that men of every class dress above their station, that servants (*garceons*) use the apparel of men of trade* (*gentz de mestere*), tradesmen the apparel of '*vadlets*', *vadlets* of esquires, esquires of knights (36). This, as we know by comparison with later records, is a classification according to rank, valets being the degree next in honour to an esquire.

* These would be found only in the towns. In the country districts landless free-men working as labourers or tenanting small plots of ground might be described as 'garsuns'; the freeholder having less than forty shillings in land may have been termed a 'goodman', which is probably the English word rendered in earlier records as *legalis homo*.

But in the King's reply, valets are omitted, and in their place we have '*gentz d'office appellez yomen*', that is to say the class of valets is omitted and the restriction in dress is to apply only to the officers (37) called yeomen or valets, namely the upper servants in the great households. The reason for this alteration is clear, when one notices that the bulk of the parliamentary electors would have been subjected to the regulations imposed if the statute had been worded like the petition. As it was, the statute was so unpopular that it had to be repealed in the following year. In 1387, when Higden's *Polychronicon* was translated into English, we have the same complaint of general extravagance 'Wherefore hit is seen oftetymes that a yoman dothe represente as the state of a esqwier, an esqwier of a knyghte, a knyghte of a lorde, a lorde of a duke, a duke of a Kynge.'

In 1401 a fresh attempt was made to prevent excess in apparel. An ordinance was proposed that no esquire should wear 'gray, cristigray, menyvere, *ne bice*', no vadlet any fur except lamb, fox, coney, and otter (38). The suggestion was repeated in 1406: as regards the esquire, the restriction is the same; as regards the '*vadlet appellez yoman*', he may wear no ouche nor beads of gold or gilded, no fur except lamb or coney (39). The King again returned an evasive answer.*

The 'yoman or vadlet' ranking next after the esquire is met with also in various statutes framed to repress the abuses of livery and maintenance. In 1392-3 the lower House represents to the King that many esquires and vadlets of small estate, who have little to live on, wear livery and signs in the way of maintenance, and in order to oppress his poor Commons. The King, in reply, grants that no 'yoman' or other of less estate than an esquire shall do so, unless he be a member of his lord's household (40). In 1396-7, a petition is again made that no '*vadletz appellez yomen*' shall bear the badge or livery of any lord, unless they be members of his household or hold permanent offices under him. The King again accedes to the request (41). In 1399, the Commons petition that no lord shall give livery to no

* A later attempt to regulate the dress of yeomen was made in 1463, when it was enacted that no yeoman should stuff his doublet. *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. v, p. 505.

'*Chivaler, Esquier, ne Vadlet*' throughout the kingdom (42); in 1400-1 that every one who breaks the statute against livery, 'if he be a knight shall forfeit £40, if an esquire £20, if a Yoman or Vadlet £10' (43). In the same year this statute was confirmed (44).

The same classification into '*Chivaler esquier ne vallet*' is to be found in the royal letters to the sheriffs of various counties in 1403 (45), and in the statute of 1444 concerning the election of knights of the shire. In the Petition against Livery of 1400-1, and in the Commission (46) of 1 May 1434 to tender oaths of good behaviour to certain knights esquires and valets, the latter word is translated as 'yomen'; in 1393 and 1397 we have the phrase '*nul yoman ne null autere de meindre estat que Esquier*' (47); in the translation (1387) of the *Polychronicon*, 'yomen' follow next after esquires,* and it is therefore impossible to resist the conclusion that persons of lower rank than an esquire, even if they were lords of manors and representatives of ancient houses, were included in the term.

Randle Holme, in his *Accedens of Armoury*, says that 'yeoman' comes from the High Dutch '*gemain*', in English 'common', and Professor Skeat endeavours to derive it through a hypothetical old-English form 'geaman' from 'ga', a district or village (48). But as Spelman suggested in his Glossary of 1664 and the present writer maintained in 1902 (49), the word has a very different origin. The author of the 'Coke's Tale of Gamelyn', interpolated in the *Canterbury Tales*, apparently uses 'yonge men' for yeomen:

'Yonge men,' sayde Gamelyn, 'by your lewte,
What man is your maister that ye with be.'
Alle they answerde withoute lesyng,
'Oure maister is i-crowned of outlawes Kyng'.

Again, at the end of the tale:

Alle his wighte yonge men the Kyng forgof here gilt,
And sitthen in good office the Kyng hem hath i-pilt.

Upon this, Professor Skeat has himself observed that 'in *Gamelyn* the word yeongeman is used for yeoman' (50).

* See also *Notes & Queries*, 9th series, vol. x, pp. 204, 354.

Other versions of the story may yet be found in which the poet's intention being more clearly expressed, the bandits are enlisted as yeomen of the guard. It is notable that the King of the outlaws addresses Gamelyn and the spencer as 'Yonge men', though the latter by his length of service must have been past middle age; this form of address may have been customary to persons of middle rank, just as Lordings or Sires was to those in a higher position.

In the 'A' text (1362-3) and 'B' text (1377) of *Piers Plowman* we have the lines,

Emperours and earles, and all maner lordes
Thorw yiftes han yonge men, to renne and to ride:

in the 'C' text (*circa* 1393) 'yonge men' has become 'yemen', or yeomen. The vocabularies of the fifteenth century translate the latter word into Latin as *effebus*, *valectus*; in the ordinances made by the Earl of Shrewsbury at his sieges in Mayne it occurs as 'yogmen', and in the Statute of 33 Henry VIII (*Caput* X) we have it again at full length as 'yoong men'. The *New English Dictionary* has now accepted this etymology, but has fallen into the error (so it appears to the present writer) of making the word in its primary sense refer to domestic service. In the fourteenth century, when first definitely adopted into the English language, it comes as a translation of the Latin *valettus*, or French *vadlet*, and in the vocabularies and word-books of a hundred years later *scutiger* as well as *valectus* is rendered as 'yeman' or 'geman' (51). Whatever its origin may have been, the primary meaning in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was military.

In the *Constitutiones de Foresta* (52) attributed to Canute, we meet with certain persons of middle rank known to the Danes as 'yoong men'. By this decree the King declares his intention of appointing in every province of England four 'chiefs of the forest', chosen from amongst the freer (meaning nobler) men whom the English call 'thanes', to try offences against forest law. Each is to have under him four persons of middle rank whom the English call 'less-thanes', the Danes call 'yoongmen';* these are to take upon them-

* *'Sint sub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus, quos Angli lesthegenes*

selves the care and burden of vert and venison, and thereafter shall rank amongst the free men whom the Danes call ealdermen, but shall have no share in the administration of justice. The less-thane is to receive every year a horse, lance, and shield, with sixty silver shillings: whoever breaks the peace of the forest against him is to forfeit ten shillings to the King; if striking him, to compound as if for the death of a stag. A 'tunman',* or person of mean condition, is to serve each less-thane by undertaking manual labour, together with the night charge of vert and venery. Later on, we meet again with the persons of middle rank, the reference being to those who have not been enlisted as foresters. No *mediocris homo* is to keep the dogs which the English call 'greihounds', and it is mentioned that the wergild of such a man is 200 shillings according to the law of the Werns and Thuringians.†

It would appear, then, that society, at the time of Canute, was divided into three classes. The first place was occupied by the *liberales* and *liberaliores homines* (the latter only a higher rank of the *liberales*), whom the English call 'thanes', the Danes call 'ealdermen'. A *liberalis* is of course much more than a freeman; in the classic sense of the word he is 'a gentleman-like man', or if the reference is to condition of life, 'one living in agreeable and dignified surroundings'. *Liberalis*, in the Forest Law, may be a rendering of the old-English word 'free', which according to the *New English Dictionary* intends 'a person of noble birth or breeding'.

nuncupant, Dani vero yoongmen vocant, locati, qui curam et onus tam viridis tam veneris suscipiant.

* 'Tineman' is a misreading. See the *N. E. D.* under that word. In an eleventh-century vocabulary the Latin *villanus* is rendered as 'tunman'.

† In the law referred to, that of the Angles and Werns (53) (otherwise known as Thuringians), 200 shillings is the wergild of the ordinary freeman, the adeling being priced at 600, the *libertus* at 80, the *servus* at 30 *solidi*. Amongst the Franks, 200 *solidi* is the price of the *ingenuus*, of the *barbarus* living by Salic law, and the *libertus per denarium*; amongst the *Alamanni*, of the *medius Alamannus* and the freeman without heirs; amongst the Burgundians of the *mediocris*, whether Burgundian or Roman, who comes next to the *nobilis* (54). The same sum of 200 shillings was the wergild put upon the ceorl under Ethelbert in Kent, and in Mercia under the North People's Law; in Wessex under Ine and again under Alfred upon the twyhyndman, who comes next above the freeman; upon the twyhyndman again under the laws of Edward and Guthrum, and also in statute lxxvi of the so-called 'Laws of Henry I', which are a digest of Saxon laws under the Confessor with some interpolations made after the death of Henry I (55).

Caedmon, in the seventh century, has 'freo' and 'frea' for *dominus*, 'freolic' for *liberalis*, *ingenuus*, and in the old-English version of the *De Die Judicii* God the Father is referred to as the 'mighty frea', or 'rican frean', 'lifes frean', or more simply as 'frea', the Lord (56). Du Cange quotes from the Rochester text of the 'Laws of Henry I' a passage which not only speaks of the *liberales* as 'otherwise called thanes', but adds that by some they are known as twelfth-hyndmen. Elsewhere in the same laws the twelfth-hyndman is identified with thethane, and is described as *homo plene nobilis* (57).

Next after the *liberales* came the men of middle position (*mediocres homines*), whom the English call 'less-thanes', the Danes call 'yoongmen'. In the rougher division of the nation into two classes, namely *liberales* and *villani*, given in paragraph xv of the Forest Law, these men must be included amongst the former, for they certainly could not be spoken of as villeins; yet are they doubtfully included, as is shown by the provision that after appointment to the forest they shall 'always be held to be amongst the *liberales* whom the Danes called "ealdermen" '.

The last of the three classes was filled by the people of low condition (*minuti homines*), called in English 'tunmen', of whom some were bond and some were free. This is made evident by a promise that tunmen who are chosen to serve in the forest, if unfree, shall be manumitted at the King's expense.

The *Constitutiones* may have been interpolated, may even, as Freeman suggests, have been forged in the time of Henry I, but the value to us of the information they supply will hardly be affected by the date. They show, if Freeman's view is assumed to be correct, that in the earlier years of the twelfth century a class of men called 'yoongmen' was in existence, or was known to have existed a hundred years earlier, and that the name given to it was supposed to be of Danish origin. But fortunately we have something better than the tradition of a later age to depend upon, for there is clear proof that in the tenth century the three classes of the Forest Laws were actually to be found. 'Iunge men' or

'geonge men' as well as 'tunmen' are mentioned in the record of Bishop Adelwold's gifts to Medeshamstede (the Abbey of Peterborough) in 963-84.*

Paragraph xxv of the Forest Law divides mankind again into three classes, but here they are different, namely *liberi*, *illiberales*, *servi*. This very much resembling the familiar orders of thane, churl, and theow, tempts one to identify the *mediocris homo* with the churl, who is often referred to as the twy-hynd man, his wer being the 200 shillings already mentioned. But to do so would involve us in difficulties. If the *mediocris homo* had been the churl, the Forest Law would have said 'whom the English call churls', but it goes out of its way to avoid calling them so and says 'whom the English call less-thaners'. Again, if the *mediocris* had been the twy-hynd, who ranks next above the freeman, the statement would have been that his wergild was 200 shillings according to English law; the document, however, avoids speaking of English law and refers instead to that of the Werns or Thuringians. If the *mediocris homo* is the churl, who is the six-hynde man ranking between the twelve-hynde and the two-hynde? The twelve-hynde or thane is supposed to have been qualified for his rank by the possession of five hides (600 acres) of land, the six-hynde by owning a smaller area (58), presumably two and a half to five hides. Land-owners of British origin did not enjoy the same privileges, but, according to the Doms of Ine, a Welshman of Wessex who had six hides was allowed to rank as a six-hynde. Kemble believed that the six-hynde men were a lower rank of nobles, either overshadowed by the rise of a new official order or formed of churls who had risen in the service of the Crown. In paragraphs 72 of the Doms of Kent and xiv of the Law of Henry I we find a *mediocris thanus*, who may or may not be the same as the *mediocris homo*; his relief was a horse with arms and trappings or his 'healsfang' in Wessex; in Mercia or East Anglia, two pounds.

The glossary given by Thorpe in his *Ancient Laws*, derives 'yoongman' from the old Norse 'ungmenn', *juvenis*. If we come to inquire why in Norway, Denmark, and England,

* Birch, *Cartul. Sax.* vol. iii, p. 367. Quoted in the N. E. D.

persons of a middle rank should be described as 'young men', a much wider question is raised. In patriarchal times, when the 'alder' ruled over his family or clan, old-age was connected in idea with power and authority. 'Senior' came to mean king or lord, as in the pages of Gregory of Tours and of the Frankish annals, 'oldest' to mean greatest, as in 1015, when we are told that Sigeferth and Morcar were the 'eldest' thanes in the Seven Boroughs. The word 'alderman' was used to denote a person invested with authority. But 'alderman' seems to require 'younger man' as an antithesis, these being comparative terms of which one cannot exist without the other, and indeed we find that such a term was actually in use. Upon the Continent from the time of Charlemagne, military officers, magistrates, officials, and judges of a lower rank were known as *juniores*; the 'Laws of the Alamanni' show that even a cook or a keeper of pigs might have a *iunior* serving under him (59). In England under Ethelbald King of the Mercians (716-57) the subordinate collectors of tolls in the port of London are so described. 'Junior' in all these cases must be the Latin rendering of 'younger man', or of its equivalent in the language of the country concerned.

The position of the less-thane, 'yoongman', or *mediocris homo* of the Forest Code, seems to correspond with that of the Frankish *ingenuus*, the Burgundian *mediocris*, and the *medius Alamannus*. Kemble considers that the two latter were lower ranks of the noble (60), and it may well be that they had the privileges of nobles though their wergild was less. It is seldom possible to draw a clear dividing line between classes; each has its subdivisions; some social strata occupy a doubtful or intermediate position, and the principle of classification even in the same period may vary, being founded now upon birth, now upon official position, tenure, or landed possessions. When property or when tenure was the test, the 'yoongman', as his title of less-thane seems to indicate, may have ranked as a *liberalis* in the order of thanes or ealdermen; if his wergild only was considered, he may have been regarded as belonging to an upper division of the churls. He may very possibly be identical with the six-hynde man, a term which was not

in general use, being unknown in Mercia, and his position is very similar to that of the fourteenth-century *valettus* or yeoman, a class-name which included many who would now rank as gentlemen as well as many lesser landowners, but excluded the freeholders of very small estate.*

After this long digression about the new military classification of the upper and middle classes in the fourteenth century as knights, esquires, and valets, we may now return to the later history of the franklins or free-tenants.

From the opening years of the fourteenth century their position began to decline. Many of the older families had been wiped out by war and famine (61); the influence of those that survived was weakened by the creation of a number of small freeholds held in many cases by emancipated serfs or by freemen whose condition was little above that of a labourer (62). These small freeholds, usually obtained by purchase, were becoming numerous before 1285, when the Statute of Westminster the Second ordained that no one was to be put on a jury or assize unless he could dispend 20s. by the year, if from land held out of the county, 40s.: figures which in 1293 were altered to 40s. and 100s. (63). In some manors we have precise information as to the growth of the class in numbers. Thus at Eckington, the inquisitions taken after the deaths of successive lords show that in 1306 and 1310 there were six free-tenants, in 1322 and 1347 there were thirty-two. The rental of 1480 describes sixty freeholds, of which eleven were in the hands of the gild, besides six of doubtful tenure in the hamlet of Troway, where free-rents and rents of assize are lumped together. But only twenty-seven of these holdings consist of an oxgang or above, and it seems clear that the number of freeholders holding as much as two oxgangs had never been more than ten.

Soon after 1350 the class of free-tenants loses its poorest and some of its richest members, for the new name of 'valets' excludes both the esquire and the free-holder having less than forty shillings in land or twenty marks in goods. But the principal causes of the break-up of the class was a

* 'Not of the degree of valets or under', statute of 1444-5.

change in the meaning of a single word, or rather in that world of ideas of which words are the imperfect expression. In the romances 'gentle blood', though not very clearly defined, is supposed to run in the veins of all who are eligible for knighthood—in other words, of all tenants in chivalry (64). Amongst the French every such tenant is noble, and the class to which he belongs cannot be mistaken owing to the exemption from taxation of every one who owes military service for his lands and is bound to pay the feudal aids. The '*simple gentilhomme*' of 1338, though too poor to arm himself as a man-at-arms, is yet a noble.

On the English side of the Channel the feudal system fell earlier into decay. The tenant in chivalry has to pay taxes as well as feudal aids, is assessed without reference to tenure, and must arm himself not according to his rank but according to his means. The levelling policy of the Plantagenets, which drew no distinction between noble and non-noble, which made wealth the only test, seeking, in the words of Stubbs, to 'eliminate the principle of tenure from the region of government', had its moral effect. The older race of minor tenants having been almost extirpated in many parts of the country, innumerable grants *in feodo* to people of low condition made it absurd to consider as noble the class to which these new-comers belonged. Classification by tenure, having become obsolete, gave place in the time of the French wars to classification by military rank. The original meaning of '*gentillesse*', as appertaining to all who were capable of knighthood, to all *milites* in the twelfth-century sense of the word *miles*, having broken down, a new definition of it as founded upon 'olde richesse' came in from the Republic of Florence (65). Courtesy extended the title of gentle (as in the *Canterbury Tales*) to every one whose appearance and manner of living linked him on to the highest class, and wealthy men, especially in the towns, were no longer willing to admit the equality in birth of people of small substance who had little to live on. Cumbersome phrases, such as (1363) '*toutes manières de gentils gents desouth l'estat de chivaler*' (66), had to be invented in order to differentiate them from their less fortunate neighbours.

A good illustration of the difference in conditions between France and England will be found in the enactments for the protection of game. In the former country, a simple ordinance (1397) that no non-nobles shall hunt was sufficient—further definition was not required; in our own, the rank and status of so many individuals being uncertain, the restriction (1389) was confined to those whose income fell below a certain limit.

History shows that a privileged class, when it begins to lose power and influence, is likely to be deprived not only of its special advantages, but of the ordinary rights of citizenship. In this case it was at first only the poorer free-tenants who suffered. In 1371, the 'vavasors of little property or consequence', who had so often filled the office of Sheriff (as is shown by frequent complaints of insufficiency), were rendered incapable to serve by an ordinance that in future no one should hold that office who had not at the least £20 a year in lands (67). In 1389 they were deprived of the freeman's right of hunting, by an enactment that no one having less than forty shillings *per annum* in lands or tenements should keep greyhounds or other dogs of the chase, nor use 'haies, rees, hare-pipes, cordes, and other engines to destroy deer, conies, and other disport of gentlemen' (68). In 1429 they were deprived of the parliamentary franchise, which was restricted to freeholders having over forty shillings in land, on the ground that people of small substance and no value ought not to have a voice equal to that of the most worthy knights and esquires (69), and were no longer allowed to serve upon juries in certain pleas of land. At last, in 1444-5, the whole class of franklins was excluded from Parliament by a statute ordaining that in future knights of the shire shall be notable knights, esquires, or gentlemen, and not of the degree of valets or under (70).

The last, the shattering blow which broke up the class of free-tenants, had been the invention of this new class of gentlemen. Up to the year 1413, no one ever described himself as a gentleman,* and the word is never found as the

* The idea was probably introduced from France, and there may be a very few earlier instances. In the '*Ordonnances des Roys*' (1733-47, vol. v, p. 242) we meet with the phrase '*Chivaler, Escuier ou Gentilhomme*' as early as 1369, eighty years before

title of a class ranking next after knights and esquires. Its sudden appearance as a personal description is due to the Statute of 1 Henry V, which lays down (*Caput V*) that in all original writs of action-personal, appeals, and indictments, in which process of outlawry lies, the 'estate degree or mystery' of the defendant must be stated, as well as the town, hamlet, place, or county in which he then was or formerly had been. From this year, as has been shown in an article by the present writer (71), husbandmen and yeomen begin to appear, and we meet occasionally with a gentleman. The word valet or yeoman, meaning originally a military page, in its secondary sense of one who is in service to another had become applicable to the officers in the great households, to the tenants who after the Black Death farmed the manorial demesnes, to other leasehold tenants such as Chaucer's miller, even to serving-men in trade; and persons who all their lives had ranked by courtesy if not by birth amongst the gentles, were no longer willing to be so designated. In the *De Banco* rolls, franklins, husbandmen, and yeomen are first met with at Easter 1414, and exactly a year later Henry Gate of Whityngton, co. Derby, 'Gentilman', appears. But these descriptions are used very loosely, and instances may be found of the same individual within a few years being described as husbandman, franklin, gentleman, and yeoman.* One or two gentlemen are to be found in the Staffordshire Indictments attributed to the year 1413-14. The register of York freemen, commencing in 1272, provides us with husbandmen and yeomen in 1416, in 1417-18 with '*Willelmus Holthorp, gentilman*'.

The new designation made its way slowly in the country districts. Amongst the Wills in the York registry there seem to be only one before 1430, nine between 1430 and

'*knyght, squyer and gentleman*' is found in England. '*Gentilhomme*' seems to be used here in a sense partly military, partly social. A few years earlier, *varlet armé* would have been written instead, all nobles who were not knights or esquires serving as men-at-arms or habergeons. But now the term 'varlet' having become applicable to light cavalry and archers, of whom some may be but others certainly are not tenants in chivalry, in order to confine the phrase to the noble class, *gentilhomme* has to be substituted.

* William Smyth, of Coldwell Hall in Eckington, is described as 'gentleman' in 1443, 'ffrankeleyne' in 1446, 'yoman' in 1465. There is no reason to think that his circumstances had changed.

1450, in which the testator or the testatrix' husband is described as 'gentilman'. In the Derbyshire list of men of power and substance to whom an oath was to be administered, drawn up in 1433 and containing 129 names, there are three *chivalers*, ten esquires, and fourteen gentlemen. By this time gentlemen are beginning to be recognized as a separate class of the community; the word still means noblemen, but is on its way to appropriation by those nobles, real or imaginary, who are under the rank of an esquire. In all the great households it had been the custom to provide livery cloth of two kinds, namely, *secta armigerorum* and *secta valettorum*: in 1424 for the first time *secta generosorum** appears. In Peacock's 'Represser' of 1449 we find the phrase, 'whether he be knight, squyor, gentilman, yoman, or lougher'. The older division of society into knights, esquires, and yeomen continued until 1416 or later, but after 1424, the new class of gentlemen being no longer included amongst the valets or yeomen, the latter word underwent that degradation of meaning of which Stubbs speaks as having taken place before 1445-6 (72).

Sooner or later the richer franklins found themselves forced by circumstances to join the new order of gentlemen, but the same person often figures in one record as 'gentilman', in another as 'franklin'. For some years the two words were in competition, and it is a misfortune for the modern world that the former, with its pretence of superiority over other people, should have been preferred to the latter, with its claim of freedom from everything that is base. The poll-tax of 1379, the *Canterbury Tales*, and Fortescue's treatise of *circa* 1470 include the franklin but ignore the gentleman; the list of landowners in 1431 given in *Feudal Aids* and that of 1434 quoted by Fuller are silent as to the franklin. Russel's *Boke of Nurture* (*circa* 1460) informs us that

Marchaundes & Franklens, worshipfulle & honorable
May be set semely at a squyers table;

but here 'franklin' and 'gentleman' seem to be interchangeable, for these lines are taken from a summary of an Order

* In 1389-92, when by royal letters John de Kyngeston is adopted *ad ordinem generosorum*, 'generosus' apparently means 'noble'. *Cal. Patent Rolls*.

of Precedence by the same writer in which the latter word is substituted:

Worshipfulle merchaundes and riche artyficeris,
Gentilmen welle nurtured & of good manneris,
With gentilwommen and namely lordes nurrieris
Alle these may sit at a table of good squyeris.

Fortescue in 1470 speaks of franklins enriched with great possessions, but here again the word is a synonym for gentlemen, for though mentioning knights and esquires he omits the latter, preferring the earlier word which has been used by Chaucer. There are, however, a few instances of the two descriptive terms being used in the same record, gentlemen being allowed the precedence which as noblemen they claimed. In 'The Coke's Tale of Gamelyn' two gentlemen as well as a franklin come to see the wrestling match. Amongst the early Chancery proceedings is an undated suit in which the plaintiffs, Alexander Anne and Alice his wife, complain that they have been disseised of lands '*par une Rauf Durburgh Gentilman et une Richard Allyn ffraunkeleyn*' (73). The panel of a jury which sat at Derby in 1453-4 includes three esquires, three 'ffrankeleyns', and one gentleman. Again in 1454, one of the Paston letters refers to the terror inspired amongst 'divers and many gentlemen, frankeleyns, and good men' by the riotous proceedings of a certain Robert Letham or Ledham.

The richer franklins continued to be remarkable for superfluity in dress and diet. The translator (1432-50) of Higden's *Polychronicon* speaks of 'mighty men or frauncleones in apparelle', and in the *Boke of Nurture* we have 'A fest for a franklin', commencing with brawn and mustard and running on through a long array of goodly dishes to a conclusion with spiced ale, wafers, and mead. Spencer speaks of the 'franklin faire and free', but a deterioration of meaning brings us to Shakespeare's 'boors and franklins', the 'yeomen or Franklein called *agricolae*' of Ferne's 'Blazon of Gentry'. Sir Thomas Overbury in 1615 gives a character of a franklin, whom he identifies, rightly as regards the earlier period, with 'the ancient yeoman of England', and Waterhouse, in his commentary on Fortescue, published in 1663,

shows a mind tainted by the professional snobbery of the Elizabethan heralds.

'Of this race of men', he tells us, 'many in Kent and Middlesex especially, besides *sparsim* in every several county', had been 'men of knight's estate', who could dispend many hundreds a year and yet raise portions for their daughters. They had held capital messuages and even manors, and had been 'drawn sometimes to bear office in foreign countries upon extraordinary occasion'. Many by plentiful living had obtained the courtesy of being called Master and written Gentleman, and their posterity, by being bred to law and learning, either at the University or the Inns of Court and Chancery, had become companions to knights and esquires and had been adopted into those orders. 'From this source,' he adds, 'which is no ignoble one, have risen many of the now flourishing gentry.'

After about 1470, 'franklin' goes out of use as a personal description, its place being taken by 'husbandman' or 'yeoman'. 'Husbandman' has nothing to do with agriculture, meaning simple householder or head of a family. Mr. Oswald Barron has found an instance of the eldest son of an esquire being so described (75), and in 1604, in an entail recited in the inquisition taken after the death of Philip Okeover of Okeover, some descendants of that ancient house are styled 'husbandmen' (76). 'Yeoman', in its sense of *valettus*, was now the proper legal description of all men of substance under the rank of gentleman, as formerly under the rank of esquire, but gentlemen in the sixteenth century were rare, for though the title had been usurped by a good many who later on had to make their peace with the heralds, Tudor policy restricted it to those whose ancestors had borne coat-armour or who had been so designated in royal letters or other documents of state. Even as late as the latter years of Elizabeth some lords of manors are described as yeomen, and many men of good education and position, having incomes equal in purchasing power to three or four thousand a year of modern money, were content with that description, or quite indifferent which of the two was applied to them. In its sense of servant, 'yeoman' is used of

tenant-farmers and of younger sons of good family apprenticed to trade. In Tudor times, when husbandmen and yeomen occur together in the same document, the distinction seems to be one of tenure, and husbandmen take precedence, being independent landowners living upon their own property.

In the days of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, grants of arms were freely made by the heralds to the heads of old freeholding families who had described themselves as husbandmen or as yeomen but were in a position to support the higher rank; and side by side with the absurd theory that gentility depends upon the possession of an heraldic shield, we find in the seventeenth century another which strangely contradicts it. That great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, lays down that in ancient times it was 'a badge of Gentry to hold by knight's service', in other words military tenure; that 'those who held by knight's service were regularly gentile' (77). Spelman and Sir Henry Chauncy (78) adopt the same view, and a century later it is well expressed by Nichol and Strutt. 'The vassals of the great vassals of the King', writes the former, 'were in general styled their knights or freeholders: I should wish to call these the gentry of England, and the other the noblesse, but I cannot demonstrate the distinction' (79). Strutt is not so much afraid of expressing an opinion. 'Gentlemen', he says, 'is a title borrowed from the French to distinguish the free men from the vulgar and common people; they held of the mesne lords small parcels of land by military service' (80).

In many parts of England, more especially in backward, thinly populated districts such as Hallamshire, the descendants of the old free-tenant families continued until 1550 or later to live the lives of their ancestors.* They farmed their own land, and rendered in person the military service that was due; armour and husbandry gear, sheep, oxen, and wool, together with a few pieces of furniture such as side-

* See the Wills of Robert Greve, Henry Birley, Gregory Revell, and Thomas Eyre, in 1546, 1551, 1588, and 1599. Thomas Eyre was the representative of a younger branch of the Eyres of Hope, and the wives of Robert Greve and Henry Birley were daughters of Eyre of Hope. Gregory Revell was eighth in descent from William Revell of Haldworth, living in 1379.

board, aumbry, and counter, a few silver spoons or drinking cups, were their most prized possessions. Their houses followed the older fashion, of which a small but perfect example still remains at Haldworth Bank: a house-place or hall with 'chamber' or parlour set at right-angles to it and bedrooms above. The internal partitions and the staircase were of solid oak planking, dating back perhaps to a time before the outer walls had been rebuilt in stone. In the house-place the owner's headpiece, cuirass, and sword were fixed upon the chimney-breast, the walls were covered with hangings of cloth painted with Bible scenes or diapered with flowers; in addition to the long table and forms, there was a cupboard surmounted with pewter vessels and a time-serving lang-settle, which in summer weather turned its back upon the hearth that had warmed it during the winter months.

These people often take their wives from families of much higher social position and show a keen interest in the schooling of their sons, the preferment in marriage of their daughters. Their Wills follow the precedents of a time when the drawing-up of such instruments was quite unnecessary. The testator leaves for his mortuary 'as the laws of this realm of England hath provided', to his wife a third part of his goods 'according to the laudable custom of this province', the other two-thirds to his children. The eldest son is to 'have his heirlooms'—the best pot, pan, chair, ark, horse, armour, sideboard, and drinking-vessel; if the widow remarries, her share is to be divided amongst the children 'after use and custom'. Bequests for the adornment of the church are no longer found, but money is always given to be distributed amongst the needy poor, and in the dinner given to the friends who are bidden to the burial the love of hospitality finds a last expression.

CHAPTER I

SURNAME AND ORIGIN

11 February, 1545/6. "The court held at Sheffield the eleventh day of February in the year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth by the grace of God, &c. the thirty-seventh. "Robert Smalbynd, otherwise called Smalbent," by Thomas Morton and John Revell,* tenants and jurors, surrenders into the hands of the lord one messuage and two oxgangs of land and meadow and all other his lands and tenements in Haldworth with their appurtenances in Bradfeld, to the use of Walter Hurt and Alice his wife, daughter of the said Robert, and the heirs of their bodies legitimately to be begotten. And for want of such issue, then the said messuage lands and tenements to remain to the right heirs of the said Robert Smalbent for ever. Which are conceded to the said Walter Hurt and Alice his wife, to be had and held to them and the heirs of their bodies legitimately to be begotten, by service according to the custom of the manor. And for want of such issue, then to remain as above. And he gives the lord as a fine for ingress, twelve shillings. By me, John Grene, clerk of the court there.*"

Early marriages were the rule in sixteenth-century England, being arranged by the parents, who naturally preferred a member of some family to which they were already related. Thus, to take instances from the same neighbourhood of Bradfield, in 1569 Henry son and heir of Robert Hawksworth of Thornsett marries Ellen, daughter of Robert Hawksworth of Sugworth (4), and in the same year the two daughters and

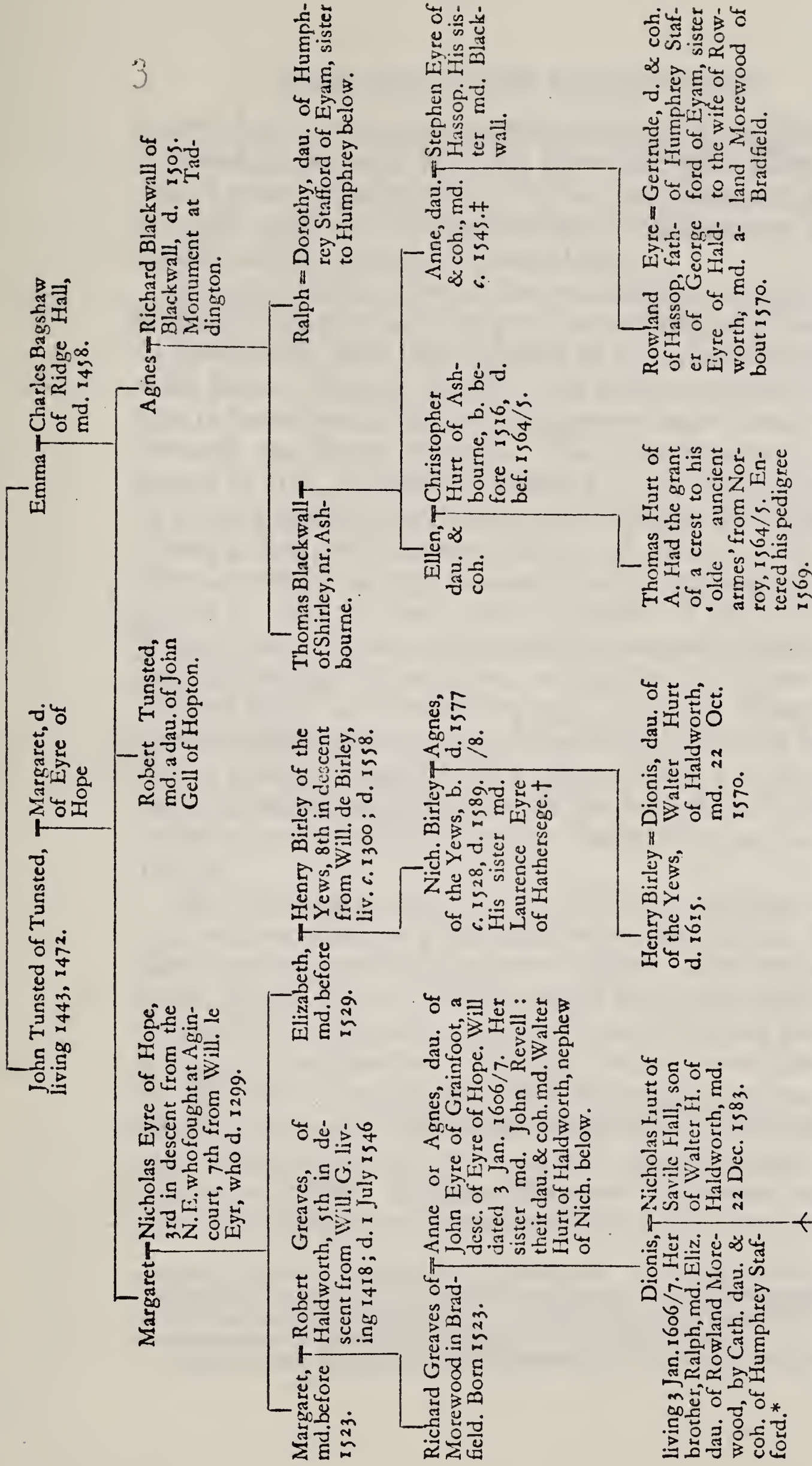
* This surrender is twice entered upon the Sheffield Court rolls; namely, on page 256 of a volume bound in vellum and endorsed, '1590-1612', and again on page 96 of a volume in an old brown cover, commencing in the year 1590. Thomas Morton, therein mentioned as one of the attorneys to surrender, was ancestor of the two Francis Mortons of Bradfield who entered their pedigree at Dugdale's Visitation, and ninth in descent from a certain William de Morton who had a grant of lands from Lord Furnival. The Revells also were of very ancient descent.

coheirs of Ralph Greaves of Hunshelf marry their cousins, Francis and John Greaves of Hunshelf(5). Walter Hurt, who as shown in the surrender of 1545/6 married in about January of that year the heiress of the old free-tenant family of Smalbynd, will probably have been born as late as 1527, and may have been related in some way or other to his future wife. It has not been possible to discover with certainty whence he came, but the marriages of his children and grandchildren into the families of Birley of the Yews, Greaves of Morewood, Revell of Haldworth, Steade of Onesacre, Bright of Dore, Creswick of Owlerton, Draper of Culland, and Skyres of Alderthwaite, render it probable that he was of good descent. According to family tradition, the Hurts of Haldworth were a younger branch of the Hurts of Ashbourne in the Peak, and this tradition receives some support from a list of heirlooms belonging to Walter's children in 1561, which may give a clue to his birthplace, for it includes an article of furniture that 'came from Tyddyswall'. Tideswell in the Peak is sixteen miles, as the crow flies, from Ashbourne, and only thirteen from Kniveton, where a younger branch of the family resided.

An indication so slight would in itself be worthless unless supported by evidence of some relationship between the Hurts of Ashbourne and those of Haldworth in Bradfield, or at least, by proof that the former family had a Bradfield connexion. Fortunately, not one only but both of these demands can be met. As will be shown in the first of the pedigrees contained in the Appendix, Rowland Eyre of Hassop in Elizabeth's reign, first-cousin to Thomas Hurt of Ashbourne, had a sister who married William Parker of Whitley Hall in Ecclesfield, a sister-in-law who was the wife of Rowland Morewood of the Oaks in Bradfield, a younger son who settled at Haldworth, a niece who married Ralph Greaves, brother-in-law of Nicholas Hurt of Haldworth. Furthermore a blood relationship can be shown to have existed between the two families of Hurt through the Eyres and Tunsteds, Dionis Greaves,* wife of the Nicolas Hurt already mentioned,

* The marriages of Robert Greaves of Haldworth and Henry Birley of the Yews with Margaret and Elizabeth, daughters of Nicholas Eyre of Hope by Margaret,

1. A COUSINSHIP THROUGH THE EYRES OF HOPE.



See *Derb. Archæol. Journal*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 5-12; Cox's *Churches of Derbyshire*, vol. ii, p. 118; Hunter's *Fam. Min. Gent.* (Surtees So.), pp. 544-5; B.M. Add. MS. 28113, fo. 4b.
 * *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 802, 1063.
 † *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 564, 657.

having been great-great-granddaughter of John Tunsted of Tunsted by his wife Margaret Eyre of Hope. Ellen Blackwell,* great-granddaughter of John and Margaret, married in about 1536-40 Christopher Hurt of Ashbourne, and was mother of the aforesaid Thomas Hurt.

This cousinship between the two families of Hurt, though a double one, goes back only to the wedding of Dionis Hurt of Haldworth with Henry Birley in 1570, of Nicholas Hurt with Dionis Greaves in 1583; but there can be little doubt that in both cases bride and bridegroom were already related through the Eyres of Hope. The Memorandum of Heirlooms in 1561, quoted in Chapter IV, has every appearance of being a family arrangement, and Nicholas Birley (father of Henry), Richard Greaves (father of Dionis) and Henry Hawkesworth, though nominally only witnesses, are really acting in trust as the nearest relatives of the children of Walter Hurt. Between Richard Greaves and Nicholas Birley no relationship can be traced, except that both were grandsons of Nicholas Eyre of Hope(7). Nicholas Birley's sister had married Lawrence Eyre of Hathersage, Greaves had married a cousin, Anne Eyre(8), whose sister was the wife of John Revell of Smallfield, son of the John Revell who acted in the surrender of Haldworth to Walter Hurt and his wife in 1545/6.

The Christian names given to Walter's children born in 1544-60, seem also to point to the same conclusion. Richard Greaves christened his daughter 'Dionis' after her mother's sister, Dionis Eyre, in whose family the name occurs in the first half of the fifteenth century; Dionis Hurt had presumably the same godmother. 'Nicholas' seems also to have come to the Hurts through Nicholas Birley(9) from the Eyres, whose patron saint was Saint Nicholas(10), all the heads of that family from 1320 to 1520 with one exception having borne that name. Thomas Hurt may have been so called after Thomas Morton, mentioned above, but there was more

daughter of John Tunsted, are given by Hunter (6). He took them from a pedigree compiled by Vincent Eyre of Dronfield Woodhouse, a great collector for the history of the Eyre family, who died in 1758. A copy, in Mr. Eyre's hand, will be found in the collections of Mr. Francis Townsend at the College of Arms.

* Some of these Blackwalls were of Tideswell. See *Fam. Min. Gent.* 561.

than one Thomas and Nicholas amongst the Hurts of Ashbourne. All these circumstances suggest that Walter Hurt, or his wife, or both, were already related before 1543 through the Eyres to the Greaves, Birleys, Mortons and Revells, and it seems likely that the young couple first met either at Mrs. Greaves's house at Haldworth, or at that of Richard Greaves's and Nicholas Birley's first-cousin, Edward Eyre of Hope. That family had an old connexion with Bradfield, where their arms—Upon a chevron three quatrefoils—may still be seen upon the roof of the chancel, carved in the fifteenth century in honour of some ancestor who had contributed toward the adornment of the church.* Thomas Eyre of Grainfoot in Hathersege, brother to Mrs. Greaves and Elizabeth Revell, lived for some time at Haldworth (11): he married at Bradfield in 1563 Ellen, daughter of Christopher Wilson of Broomhead.

Hope, the seat of the Eyres, Tunsted of the Tunsteds, Blackwall of the Blackwalls, Eyam the home of the Staffords, Hathersege where lived the Eyres of Grainfoot, are all within about five miles of Tideswell, which itself had once been a hamlet or berewick of the royal manor of Hope.† The Eyres had great connexions and influence throughout Peakland; ‡ were indeed rather a feudal clan than a family. In the fifteenth century, besides the parent stem, there was a second, a third, a fourth, a fifth house of Eyre, owning the manors of Padley, Hassop, Highlow and Holme; as well as other offshoots, such as the Eyres of Grainfoot; while in the sixteenth, marriages with numerous heiresses had produced quite a thicket of younger branches.

* Ronksley Coll. 11803.

† This had passed in the fourteenth century to the Staffords of Eyam, of whom Sir Nicholas had a confirmation of the manor from King Richard in 1377/8, and licence to institute a chantry in about 1392. Cox, pp. 287, 291, 301.

‡ Hunter says that one of the best proofs of the ancient consequence of this family is that Stephen le Eyre was commissioned with another person in 1337/8 to take into the King's hands the Alien House in the county of Nottingham. The Eyres held their lands at Hope *in capite* by service of the custody of the King's forest. William le Eyre, 'forester of the forest of High Peak', had licence from Queen Philippa in December 1345 to perform his office by deputy. His descendant William, son of Robert Eyre of Hope, describes himself as 'forester' in 1410. Padley Hall in Hathersege, which came by marriage to Robert Eyre, Esq., in the first half of the fifteenth century, is or lately was a typical example of a fourteenth-century manor-house. See Addy's *Evolution of the English House*, pp. 135-49.

Since the last four paragraphs were written, suggesting that the first Walter Hurt of Haldworth was the son of some cadet of the Ashbourne family who had settled at or near Tideswell and had married into the family of Eyre, further evidence has been discovered which points in the same direction. It appears that as early as 1502, William Hurt, the head of the Ashbourne family, had succeeded in right of his wife, who was one of the Leighs of Mathfield, Co. Stafford, to lands at Taddington and Priestcliff, two miles from Tideswell.

‘ William Lee, son and heir of Ralph Lee late of Mathfield, greeting. Know that I have remised relaxed etc. to William Hurte in full and peaceful possession, all my estate, title, claim, demand, and interest, in one messuage called Key howse and twenty acres of land in the town and fields of Tadyngton and Prestclyf, which descended to me by hereditary right after the death of the said Ralph my father. To have and hold to the foresaid William Hurte, his heirs and assigns for ever. Given on the last day of August in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Seventh after the Conquest of England. Seal, a capital letter within a square.’ *

Christopher Hurt of Ashbourne, son and heir of Thomas and grandson of William, was living in 1516, when he is mentioned in his grandfather’s will, but was apparently unmarried and under age. In about 1545 he took to wife Ellen, daughter and coheir of Thomas Blackwall of Shirley, whose lands at Taddington and elsewhere were parted in 1547/8 † between the said Christopher and his brother-in-law, Stephen Eyre of Hassop. He cannot be identical with the person mentioned in the charter which follows, whom we find in 1517 holding land at Tunstead, three miles from Tideswell and only four or five from Taddington.

11 July, 9 Henry VIII. Christopher Hert of Rockyngham in Northamptonshire, husbandman, ‡ and Joan his wife, daughter and co-heiress of Roger Eyre of Bradwell, grant to Henry Heyward all their lands in

* The original charter in Latin is in the possession of Mr. E. G. Bagshaw, solicitor, of 63 Norfolk Street, Sheffield.

† A contemporary list of the lands divided is in the possession of Mr. Bagshaw.

‡ At this period ‘ husbandman ’ in its ordinary sense means only ‘ householder ’, but is applied also in a more restricted sense to the class next above the yeomanry, namely to freeholders living on their own land. There are instances of the younger son of a knight being so described.

Derbyshire. The attorneys to deliver seisin are Richard Barbour of Eydall, and Richard . . . of Birchells; the witnesses, Philip Torre of Hardwick, Christopher Buxtonys of Wormell and Roger Nedeham of Tonystidd.*

This latter document is one of a bundle of Heyward deeds relating to property at Tunstead, and several of the persons mentioned in it come from that neighbourhood. Roger Nedeham is 'of Tonystidd', Christopher Buxtonys, of Wormhill, near by. Edale is in Castleton, close to Hope. Bradwell† is in Heath, five miles south of Chesterfield, and Hardwick is close to Heath. One of the Eyres of Hassop had a daughter who married a Barbour of Edale, as mentioned by Hunter in his *Gens Sylvestrina*, but Roger Eyre, who was tenant of the Duchy of Lancaster demesne lands at Bradwell about 1509, will be one of the Eyres of Holme Hall in the parish of Chesterfield, amongst whom that Christian name was much in favour. Christopher Hert may probably have moved from Tunstead to Rockingham:‡ one is inclined to conjecture that he was brother, uncle, or cousin to William Hurt of Ashbourne, father or uncle to Walter Hurt of Haldworth. The name 'Christopher' does not appear again amongst Walter's descendants, except in the case of his grandson Christopher Birley, the eldest son of his daughter Dionis, but that is not surprising, as after the Reformation it went out of fashion as savouring of Popish superstition.

A pedigree of the existing house of Hurt of Alderwasley is given in the Appendix; their ancestors at Ashbourne can be traced back to the early years of the fifteenth century, and bore arms long before the heralds' Visitations began. The William Hurt above mentioned desires to be buried in Ashbourne Church, 'beneath the font, nygh there as Richard Hurt son of Thomas liethe'. The testator was probably born

* In the possession of Mr. Bagshaw.

† There is another Bradwell between Castleton and Tideswell.

‡ Rockingham castle and forest were forsaken by our kings after the time of Edward III. Henry VII appointed his uncle, Viscount Wells, Constable of the Castle, Surveyor of the Vert and Venery, Master Forester, &c., with all the ancient endowments and advantages of the said offices. About this time the New Park was enclosed on the south-west of the castle, and a lodge was built for the accommodation of the King when hunting there, the castle being dilapidated. Alice Dryden's *Memorials of Old Northamptonshire*; Wise's *Rockingham Castle*.

in 1450-60; his father, Thomas, with whom the Visitation pedigree begins, about 1425-35.*

A second Thomas, son of William, died in 1539. The inventory taken after his death has several features of interest. In the parlour is a complete suit of armour, 'harnes for a man', valued at 20s. The hall is furnished with a folding table, a long table, a long form, a painted cloth, six cushions and two chairs; painted cloths are found also in the chamber at the Grefehed, the 'Greyte chambre', and the 'Drawght chambre'. The equipment of over kitchen, nether kitchen and buttery, the lists of pewter, latten, and napery ware, show that the duty of hospitality was not neglected, and there is a note of 'Certayn Jewellys & plate':

<i>Item</i> , iiij golde rynges	xls
<i>Item</i> , a sylver pese, a maser of sylver gylte, ij <i>Agnus</i>	} xcvjs viiij <i>d</i>
<i>deis</i> of sylver gylte, ij crucefyxes of sylver gylte, and	
viiij sylver spones	

In 1565 the third Thomas Hurt of Ashbourne, William's great-grandson, had a grant from Norroy of a crest, which mentions his 'olde auncient Armes' and the fact that he was 'descended of a house longe tyme bearynge armes' (12). This Thomas was the first to be connected with Alderwasley, the present seat of the family, his wife, Mary Gell, being sister to the wife of Edward Lowe, lord of that manor.

The Hurts of Haldworth were probably a branch of this prolific and widespread family, though other origins have been suggested as possible. In early times there was a family of that name at Norwich. Robert le Hert was a burghess of that city in 1261, and in 1392 Thomas Herte or Hart, one of the two Bailiffs or Mayors, joined with others in buying Carleton Curson's manor (17). His accounts as principal bailiff in 1397 are printed in W. Hudson's records of Norwich (18). Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth

* A Walter Hurt served under the Earl Marescal at Agincourt (14). Amongst the Wolley charters (15) is one given in the time of Edward I by William Hert of Norbury, which place is four miles from Ashbourne, Sir William de Montgomery, Sir William Fitz-Herbert, and Sir Hugh de Okeover being witnesses. 'Rotinton', the home of William's father, Henry Hert, will be 'Roschintone', now known as Roston, in the same parish. Adam Hert or Hurt is a witness at Wyaston, three miles south of Ashbourne, in 1316 and 1323 (16).

centuries the surname constantly occurs in the lists of free-men, and in 1512, as again in 1519, William Hart served as Mayor. Another descendant of Robert le Hert above named was the celebrated Bishop of Norwich, Walter Hart, Hert or Lyhert (the 'Ly' is simply an affectation) who entertained King Henry VI at his palace in 1449, was sent in the same year as Ambassador to Savoy, and is credited with having brought the Papal schism to an end by persuading the Antipope, Felix V, to withdraw his claim to the Papacy. The Bishop set up the beautiful vaulted roof of the Cathedral nave, and made other additions to the fabric. Sir Thomas Brown (19) tells us that he *'built the transverse stone partition or rood-loft, on which the great crucifix was placed, beautified the roof of the body of the church and paved it. Towards the north side of the partition wall are his arms, the bull, and towards the south side a hart in water, as a rebus of his name, Walter Hart.'* A little later, Brown speaks again of the roof: *'This part (with figures of the last supper, and of our Saviour on the cross) was done in the time of, if not by Bishop Lyhert, as appears by his arms and his rebus alternately upon the pillars on each side, where the foundations of the vaulted roof begin upon the old work.'*

The shield and the device referred to may yet be seen above the capitals of the Norman pillars, where the fifteenth-century work begins, as also upon the existing rood-loft, which is a modern reproduction. The Bishop's coat of a bull, now quartered by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, whose ancestor married his niece, is found also upon the roof of the Divinity School at Oxford, which was erected in his time, he being a contributor, and his rebus is in the chancel of St. Mary's Church.* This device of a hart lying down in water for 'Water lie Hart' appears again upon his private seal, and it is a curious coincidence that in one of the church windows at Bradfield, the chapelry in which Haldworth lies, there is a roundel of glass some six or seven inches in diameter charged with a couchant hart. Another roundel is painted with an heraldic wolf salient, the bearing of Wilson† of Brom-

* *Bristol and Glouc. Archæol. Soc.* xxxiv. 38.

† Mr. Wilson in his notes concerning Bradfield, written before 1783, states that

head, and this led the late Rector, the Rev. R. Gatty, to suppose that the hart might be intended for the Hurt crest.

'About the old glass,'—he writes in 1882,—'we have two dates to go by, judging from what was rescued; an early-English canopy, some later perpendicular work consisting of two Bishops, who probably represent Bishop Nicholas the Patron Saint of the Church, and several fragments, one of which is the Hurt crest. In 1470 the Church was restored, the early-English high-pitched roof was removed, clerestory windows were added, and a Tudor flat roof put on. Lord Shrewsbury seems to have subscribed with several other great families, and his crest, the Talbot dog, is seen carved on the oak rafters. The East window is a perpendicular window, made in 1470, and in it was the Hurt crest and another which may be Wilson of Broomhead. My own impression is that a general giving took place in 1470, and the crests of the donors were put on the rafters or in the glass windows, as they chose. I am not good at heraldry, as my brother is, but it may be you will some day come here and see all for yourself. The place is very interesting to antiquaries. At the back of the church is a mound sixty feet high, a British earthwork protected by a kind of precipitous slope of 300 feet down.* The moors are all round, and Mr. Ruskin, who visited us in August last, was so fascinated with the site that he has since (this week) sent me word to buy the old British earthwork, as he means to build an Art College for the whole of England and place his Museum there. If this is done, the old long-hidden hamlet will blossom into a small University. Holdworth Hall is not only extant, but one of the most charming old homesteads I know. I wish you would buy it and become a little more than a lay impropiator of Bradfield.'

The two glass roundels are contemporary, as is shown by comparison of the backgrounds, and have a look of the fifteenth century about them, though they may possibly be somewhat later in date. A stag couchant is also one of the devices carved at the intersection of the timbers upon the ceiling of the nave at Bradfield, the work being here again referred to the concluding years of the fifteenth century (20). In neither case is the animal represented as collared, nor as lying down in water, and we cannot therefore clearly identify it as the rebus of Walter Lyhert. But on the whole one is inclined to conjecture that the Bishop, not long before his death in 1472, gave a contribution towards the cost of beauti-

in the east window of the choir in the round panes were a wolf saliant, a stag, two trees, a rose, M.R., a star, I.H.C., and a serpent. In the east window also was a 'stagg or starr.' Eastwood's *Ecclesfield*, p. 463.

* This will be the site of Waltheof's hall.

fyng the church, and that in compliment to the donor his badge was represented in the window and upon the roof.

Reference should also be made to another family to which it was thought at one time that Walter Hurt might have belonged. In 1457, possibly on the recommendation of the Bishop of Norwich, Henry VI appointed a certain John Hurt D.D. to be Master or Proctor of his recent foundation at Cambridge, then known as 'God's House' and afterwards as Christ's College. This Master, who was a Fellow of Clare and at one time Vicar of Helpston, was responsible for drawing up the College statutes, and as appears by his Will he was an early book collector. An inventory of 1454 shows in the Proctor's chamber at God's House two 'coverlids de blewe', one with birds embroidered upon it, the other with yellow roses.

In March 1461/2, having resigned the mastership, Dr. Hurt was instituted to St. Mary's at Nottingham. There had been a long delay, either from lack of funds or for some other cause, in rebuilding the church there, which is supposed to have been carried up in the early years of the fifteenth century to the level of the window sills; and it may be that the necessity of proceeding with this great work was the reason for the appointment of Dr. Hurt, whose talents and experience rendered him well fitted to undertake it. St. Mary's is one of the noblest examples of the Perpendicular style, and we are told that 'it was not until the latter part of the fifteenth century that the arcades, clerestory, and central tower could have been begun and carried up from the ground, and the whole church brought to completion at last in all its parts' (21). The main body of the building, the entire nave, 'was the work of one period, and was finished before 1475, the date of the north transept canopy-tomb' (22); the upper stages of the tower are later, being evidently of the time of Henry VII.

Dr. Hurt's Will is dated 14 September 1476, and in this he mentions John, the son of his brother William, the latter being possibly the 'William Hert, peyntour,' who was admitted as a burgess of Nottingham in 1468.* A bequest to

* The family continued for a time at Nottingham. In 1499 Agnes Hert, widow,

'Goddeshouse, Cambridge,' clearly indicates his former connection with that college. One of his books he leaves to King's College, and the editor of the *Testamenta Ebor.* notes that a Thomas Hurt, who he conceives may have been a brother of the Testator, was a Fellow, having been elected from Eton in 1450 (23).

The possibility that the family in which we are interested may have been descended from a brother of Dr. Hurt, was suggested by the fact that Richard, a younger son of the first Walter Hurt of Haldworth, settled at Nottingham about 1580 in the very parish of which Dr. Hurt had been Vicar. This Richard, as we shall see, was thrice Mayor of the city and represented it in Parliament.

Several good families of the name occur in other parts of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but with these we are not concerned. A few words may be added as to the origin of the surname. 'Hurt' must be a variant of Hart, a survival of the Middle-English spelling and pronunciation by the side of the normal form; and seems to have been given originally on account of swiftness of foot, as in Kipling's line:

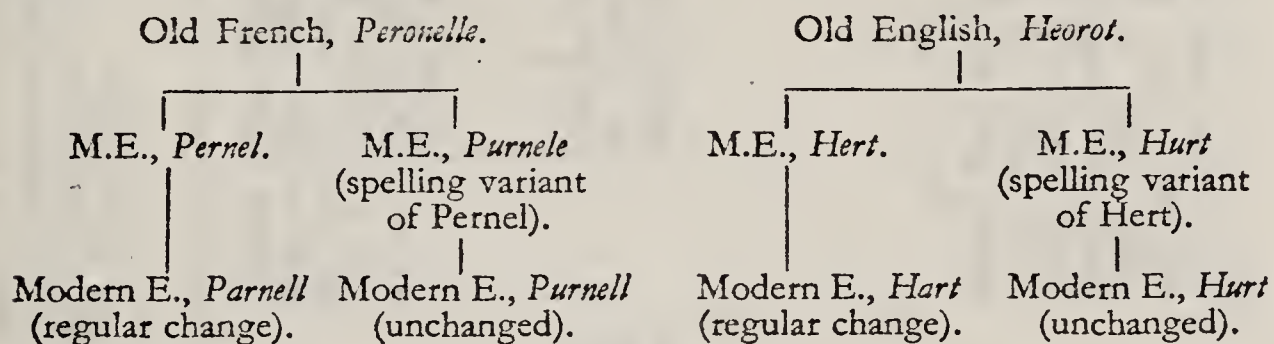
'He ran like a wounded deer and stood like a lance at rest.'
No other derivation is possible. With the Saxon *geheort*, meaning 'of good cheer, courageous', the 'ge' would drop out later, but no example of the use of the word can be found in Middle English. 'Herd', which has the meaning of guardian, and might indicate the guardian of a forest, does not take this form: one never meets with a 'shephert'. The author of *The Norman People* makes 'Hert' a translation before 1272 of the Norman *le Cerf*, but an English origin is far more probable.

Heorte (heart) sometimes occurs in Middle English as *hurte*; *beorn* (man), as *burn*; *leornian* (to learn), as *lurnen*; *reord* (voice), as *ruerd* (25).

recovers from James Bromfelde and Elizabeth his wife the value of a 'pair' or set of jet beads with gauds of jet, a crucifix, an *Agnus Dei* of silver-gilt and a silver ring, all of which had been delivered to them for safe custody. In 1501 Hugh Hert, 'steynour', who had been one of the electors of the Mayor in the previous year, acts as pledge for John Roberts (24). A stainer would be a designer of the stained cloths then so much used for wall-hangings; a painter, probably what we should now call an artist.

OLD ENGLISH (To 1100)	MIDDLE ENGLISH (1100-1500)	MODERN ENGLISH (After 1500)
Heorte	hairt, hurte, huerte, hierte, heorte, hert }	heart
Heorot	hert	hart
Beorn (man)	berne, burn, beorn, biern }	(not found)
Leornian	lernen, lurnen, leornen }	learn
Reord	rerd, rurd, reorde, rorde }	(not found)

The surname Parnell has the variant of Purnell, and the examples given above from Mayhew and Skeat's Concise Dictionary of Middle English show that Hart might also be expected to occur as Hurt. These changes may be put in pedigree form as follows :

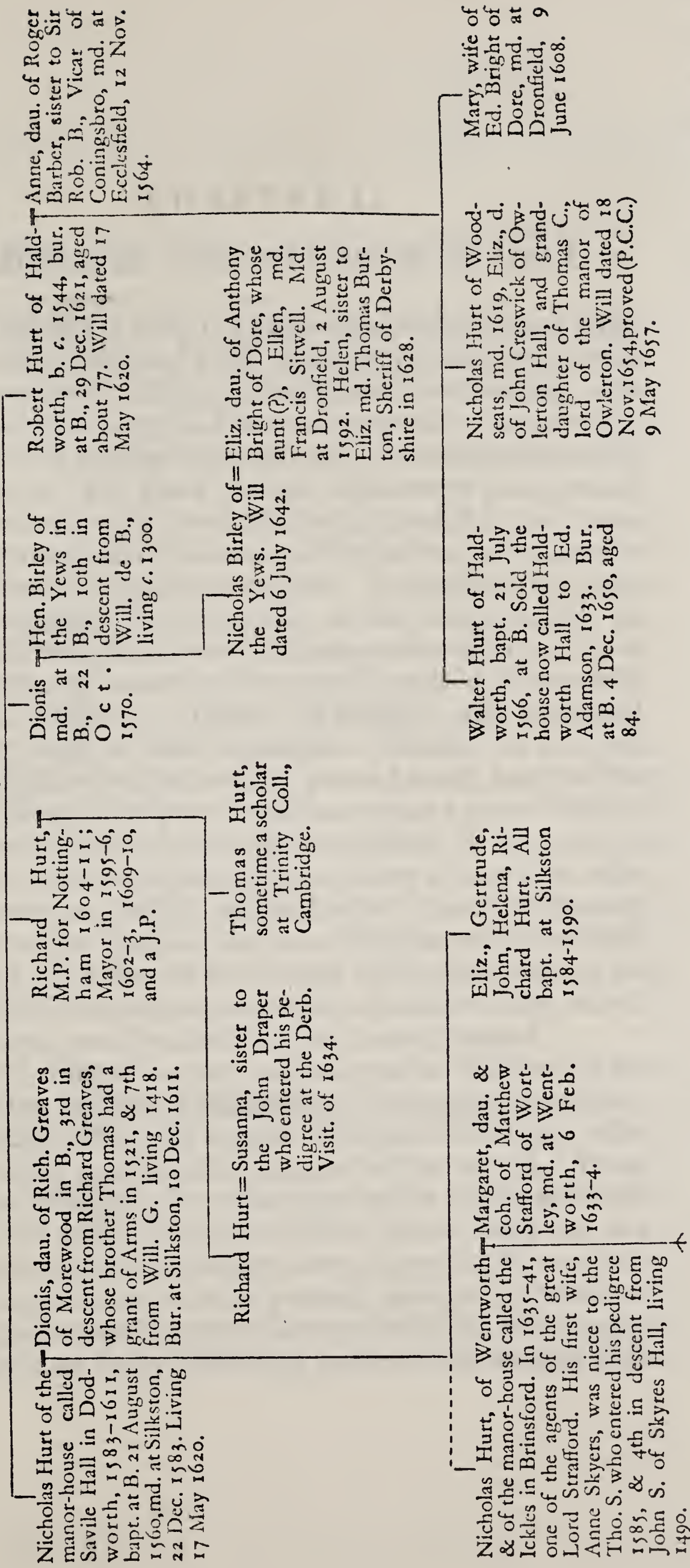


This is what ought to occur, and as a matter of fact we can show that it does occur. The variant sought for will be found in an English proclamation by Henry III in 1258 (26), which mentions '*Richard of Clare, eorl on Glowchestre and on Hurtford*'. Hurtford, the modern Hertford, was in O.E. Heorot-ford, the ford of the hart. In the same century we have the surname in question occurring as Hurt, Ralph Hurt holding a quarter of a knight's fee under Norman Darcy (27).

In the Saga of King Olaf Trygvesson, who died in the year 1000, mention is made of a great Norse chief, Thore 'Hiort', or 'the hart'. He with Raud the Strong fought a sea-fight against the King, and being defeated took to the land and fled. 'When the King saw where Thore Hiort, who was quicker on foot than any man, was running to, he ran after him with his dog Vige.' The King said, *Vige, Vige, catch the hart*; upon which Thore halted, wounded the dog, but was himself transfixed by King Olaf's spear.

II. THE HURTS OF HALDWORTH.

Walter Hurt of Haldworth—Alice, dau. & h. of Robert Small-
by Locksley in the soke of Haldworth, son of John,
Bradfield, md. bef. 11 Feb.
1545-6, bur. at B. 5 Feb.
1560-1.



For a continuation of this pedigree, see Chapter X. The writer has failed, so far, to obtain definite legal proof that Nicholas Hurt of Savile Hall was the father of Nicholas Hurt of the Ickles.

CHAPTER II

HALDWORTH AND HALDWORTH HALL

HALDWORTH HALL, a late seventeenth-century building with stone-tiled roof, windows divided into double lights by a central mullion, and extensive out-housing, occupies the site of the copyhold messuage passed by the surrender of 1545-6. It is perched at the summit of the tremendous hill-side known as 'The Bank', which falls almost precipitously from Onesmoor to the river, a hill-side covered in early times with forest trees which had rooted themselves in the crevices of the rock and amongst the boulders. To the left of the house is a deep wooded cleft in the hill: on the other hand lie the closes which make up the two oxgangs referred to in 1545-6, some of them still known by the names (Cotefeild, Broomfeild, Heathfeild, Ashlands, Alabutts, Whitefeild, and Farrfeild), which they bear in later surrenders. Behind, lie the little hamlet of Haldworth and a rising ground which keeps off the northern blasts. The place looks out upon a great world of river valleys, of far-off moor and woodland. In the centre of the view the distant horizon dips to show a long blue ridge very far away; to the left, across Loxley Chase and the deep hollow in which Sheffield lies, are the uplands of the Peak; to the right, the valley of the Loxley winds deep among the hills, and still farther on the same side, a broader valley-mouth opens a view over Bradfield to the moors beyond.

The little river of Loxley, which runs at the foot of the Bank, retains to this day something of its ancient loveliness. In the earlier part of its course it differs little from other torrents which are found in this part of the world. 'About three miles, however, from the point of its confluence with the Don, the valley through which it flows opens out in a style of great interest and beauty; steep rugged cliffs, strangely broken, or gently undulating ground, precipitous banks on the one hand or, on the other, sloping fields; the whole space on the south or rocky side being more or less clothed with

the native birch or other wood.' The valley is well described by Francis Homfray in his *Thoughts on Happiness* (1) published in 1817:

From Wharncliffe-wood, where, yet unknown to fame,
The moorland torrent falls without a name,
To where the Loxley down his shelving bed,
Rolls to the Don his waters tinged with red;
No whispering reeds, no meads like velvet neat,
Tempt to his banks the summer wanderer's feet;
But broken ground and scattered stones are there,
And roots, long washed by wintry torrents bare.
Tall woods descending meet the water's edge;
Swift sluices, gushing down the rocky ledge,
Far o'er the windings of the footpath way,
In misty showers, throw the hoary spray.

Here have I listen'd to the murmuring tide,
Which down the ford of rough stones ripples wide,
And heard the breeze at intervals repeat,
From distant forge, the hammer's sullen beat,
Till from his haunt of rock, or sloping tree,
The trout has flounc'd and broke my reverie.

This peaceful little valley was the scene of the disastrous flood of March 1864, when (owing to the breaking of the Bradfield reservoir), with a hissing noise loud as thunder a mass of water which it was calculated would have filled Regent Street and Waterloo Place to the housetops, swept at racehorse speed towards Sheffield, carrying hundreds of corpses with it. At Low Bradfield, according to an eye-witness, 'trees snapped like pistols, mills and houses stood and staggered for a moment, then disappeared in the boiling torrent. Within the short space of five minutes the bridge, the triple-storied mill, the school-house and the master's house were standing unharmed; and before the minutes were over they had all vanished. The flood swept by in all its majesty—a mighty wall of water running on a level with the roofs of the three-storied buildings it demolished—clearing away everything in its path so completely that no trace of the well-built bridge remains, while of the huge mill-stones and massive ashlar pillars of the Bradfield mill not one has yet been found.' At Ræbuck House, just below Haldworth, a stone

twelve feet square and weighing twenty-four tons was torn from the rock, and carried a distance of three hundred yards. But here, the inhabitants were able to move to the higher ground with their families and cattle. A horseman galloping through the howling tempest of that day towards Sheffield as fast as his horse could carry him, was delayed at Damflask for a few moments by the bursting of the saddle-girths, and from him they learnt in time the greatness of the danger.

On its eastern edge, the hamlet of Haldworth is bounded by Loxley Chase,* a wild, stony tract of ground which in early times was overgrown with forest trees. This, according to Hunter, has the fairest pretensions to be the Loxley of our old ballads, where the prince of freebooters was born; and indeed the identification cannot be doubted, for there never was a place of that name in Nottinghamshire. '*Robert Locksley,*' writes Dodsworth in about 1620, '*born in Bradfield parish in Hallamshire, wounded his stepfather to death at plough, fled into the woods, and was relieved by his mother till he was discovered. Then he came to Clifton-upon-Calder, and became acquainted with Little John, that kept the kine; which said John is buried at Hathershead in Derbyshire, where he hath a fair tombstone with an inscription.*' †

Like Fulwood and the Rivelin, the Chase was *silva pastoralis*, forest 'so free from undergrowth as to be fit for the purposes of pasturage, and even for the sports of the field.' Wide branching oaks threw over it a checquered canopy of shade, and in the neighbourhood of the various hamlets which lay upon the border were innumerable hollies, serving for winter feeding of the sheep. Through the forest glades

* 'Loxley is derived from the man's name Lochi, which is found in Domesday Book, as d lēah (dative lēa)—a meadow or field. Names ending in *i* make their genitive in *es* as Tiddi, genitive Tiddes; so Loxley stands for Locheslea, place names being usually in the dative.' This is Mr. Addy's note, but, though ignorant of etymology, the present writer ventures to differ. No one would call a great tract of country covered with loose stones a meadow, except in irony. Surely Loxley must take its name from Loki, the frost demon of the North.'

† Dr. Cox, in his *Churches of Derbyshire*, makes a gallant attempt to support the popular belief that the bow, arrows, green cap, and coat of mail, formerly to be seen in the church of Hathersege, had actually belonged to Little John. But if the statement is true that these hung originally over the altar tomb of Robert Eyre of Padley, who is said to have been 'an officer at Agincourt', we must recognize them as part of the latter's weapons and accoutrements at that battle, or perhaps of his costume as forester of High Peak.

the Furnivals followed that true *chasse au cerf* in which the Normans delighted, and in later times when the *battue* had taken its place, even down to the death of Earl Gilbert in 1616, the successive lords of Hallamshire often came there to enjoy the field-sports they loved. In 'The Maister of the Game,' written by Edward, Duke of York, between 1406 and 1416, the methods of that day are set out at length. 'First, the Earl was placed at the tryste with his bow, and the Master blew the three long notes for the uncoupling of the harriers which were to make the rascal deer void the covert. Then the hart-hounds were loosed nigh to the best lying for a hart, which they enchased well and lustily, that he might go to the bows and be smitten. When the day's sport was over the Master blew a note and stroke with a mote in the middle, and every follower blew the stroke as often as he desired, if they had obtained that which they had sought for, so that men might know as they stroked homeward whether they had well sped or not. The harts having been laid out at the cuvée in the castle, it was time for every man to draw to his supper and to make himself as merry as he could.'

Memories of these hunting expeditions long survived in the neighbourhood, and the figure of George Earl of Shrewsbury in his hunting dress is conjured up for us by a ghost story which, curiously enough, appears in a deposition entered among the county records. In June 1668, John Bowman of Greenhill, Co. Derby, tailor, made a deposition as follows before Francis Barker, Esquire, one of the Justices of the Peace. Coming home from Sheffield on the footway towards Highley with John Brumhead, these two had some discourse together at the Cutlers bridge, about an apparition which it was reported had been seen there of a man they called 'Earle George'. '*And as they were speakeinge of itt, of a sudden there visibly appeared unto them a man lyke unto a prince with a greene doublet and ruff and holdinge a brachete in his hands. Whereupon this examinate was sorelie affrighted and fell into a swound or trance, and contynued in the same, as hee conceiveth, for the space of about halfe an houre.*'*

* *Surtees Soc.*, vol. xl, p. 161. A 'brachet' was a small black and tan dog, that hunted by scent, corresponding to our beagle. See Cox's *Royal Forests*, pp. 48, 50.

Wilson tells us that about 1630 the hollies in Loxley were still 'rented out to several persons, who had every one a hagge for their sheep to feed on in winter'. But when the lords of Hallamshire at last deserted their castle and manor-house of Sheffield, there was no longer need of park or chase. The oaks were converted into charcoal about the middle of the seventeenth century, and some twenty years later the hollies were sold in mass to Copley the iron-master, who stubbed and burnt them; a few, sprung from the old roots, being still to be seen in 1741, when Wilson wrote his notes. The spoiling of the Chase aroused much ill-feeling in the neighbourhood, and a local rhyme still holds up to execration the name of the destroyer:

If Mr. Copley had never been born,
Or in his cradle had died,
Loxley Chase had never been torn,
And many a brave wood beside.

With the surrender of 1545-6, the pedigree of the Hurts of Haldworth begin. Alice Smalbynd or Smalbent * wife of Walter Hurt, was the heiress of a family settled at that place for some two hundred years upon a freehold held of the Lords Furnival, the copyhold passed by the document being a second-best house used, ever since it was acquired in the year 1418, to provide a home for the eldest son during his father's lifetime. The surname may probably be derived from a parcel of assart land near the freehold, known as 'le Smalbend Greve'. Alice's father, Robert Smalbynd, is the first witness to a deed at Renishaw dated 25 April 1544, whereby 'Robert Swifte, junior, of the Browme Hawlle, gentleman,' grants to Nicholas Hawkesworth all his property in Haldworth. There are indications that her mother may probably have been sister to Robert Greaves of that place. According to the pedigree put upon record at the College of Arms by Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty, Robert Smalbynd was son of John, grandson of Thomas, and great-grandson of another John, living 1379-1421. These

* A 'bend' or 'bent' is the bent part of anything, such as a river or road. In the North of England a place covered with rough grass, or a piece of unenclosed pasture land, was also called a bent. The surname cannot, of course, have been personal in its origin. 'Behind' for the back part of the body is quite a modern vulgarism; indeed, is never met with until 1786. See the *N.E.D.*

people often occur as witnesses at Haldworth and Stannington, usually in the company of the Revells, Byrleys, and Seniors, families which already prided themselves upon their long descent, and with which the Smalbynds must have intermarried, as did their descendants, the Hurts, a couple of centuries later.

In a memorandum of evidences belonging to Robert Hurt of Haldworth in 1561, '*one charter dede from the lorde Thomas ffurnevall*' is mentioned; probably that by which the second Thomas de Furnival, who died before 1279, gave to Thomas son of Ralph Underhill (*Sub Monte*) a half oxgang with buildings, etc. which John de Pillay had held to farm from Robert de Haldworth. An annual payment of two shillings in silver, two suits of court at Sheffield, and 'foreign service when required for our lord the King', were to be rendered by the grantee and his heirs. On the fold of the parchment is written in a later hand: '*Que Willelmus Smalbihend tenet*', referring, I suppose, to the William who with Alice his wife paid the poll-tax as a parishioner of Bradfield in 1378. The property is described in the charter as 'lying between the meadow called Bilbeleye on the south and the moor on the north in length, and between the wood called Lockeslay on the east and the Bentelane on the west in breadth.' *

'The wood called Lockeslay' is, of course, the Chase, which on the side named comes up to the hamlet of Haldworth. The Smalbynds were clearly in possession of the *Sub Monte* holding in 1451, when Alice's great-grandfather pays upon half an oxgang of free land in Haldworth the feudal aids towards the cost of knighting the great Lord Shrewsbury's eldest son and marrying his eldest daughter (2); the property may be identified also with that at 'Hauldworth Banck' held by John Smalbynd in 1500, and possibly with the land held, as already shown, under a charter from Lord Furnival, to which Robert Hurt succeeded in 1561. An inquisition (3) taken after the death of the latter in 1622, showed that he had been possessed of one messuage or tenement and twelve acres of land and pasture held of the lords of the

* Nichol's *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. iii, p. 336; Hunter's *Hallamshire*, 1869, p. 470; T. Walter Hall's *Jackson Collection*, p. 2.

manor of Sheffield in free and common socage by fealty suit of court and annual rent of fourpence for all services, exactions and demands.* In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, tenure in chivalry was often confused with tenure in socage, and in this case we have evidence that military service at Sheffield Castle was actually rendered by the successive owners in right of their holding. The fall of rent from two shillings to fourpence offers a more serious difficulty; but experience shows that while some of the small quit rents reserved in early charters remain constant throughout the Middle Ages, others were raised or reduced in circumstances which cannot now be recovered. We know that between 1300 and 1330 great tracts of land around Sheffield went out of cultivation,† owing not so much to bad harvests and famine, as to the number of free tenants who had fallen under the banner of de Furnival in the wars of Scotland. It is therefore a tempting hypothesis that the holding of Ralph Underhill, becoming derelict, was granted out again to another family at a lower rent. Or, if we assume—as indeed seems most probable—that the survival of the charter, which would hardly have been preserved as a title-deed had there been a fresh grant, points to a descent of the Smalbynds from Ralph, either in the male or female line, we may conjecture that the rent was reduced in acknowledgement of good service done in the wars.

Though the tenure of the freehold was military, ‘foreign service, when required for our lord the King’, is not, as an historian would naturally infer, military service outside the realm of England. Indeed, the common translation of the phrase *forinsecum servitium* is altogether misleading, and a better rendering would be ‘out-service’. According to Bracton, foreign services are those which appertain to the King and not to the chief lord, except when due to the latter

* This property is described in 1684 as consisting of a messuage in Haldworth called Hurt House, and separate closes called the Kilne Croft, Rye Croft, Wellhouse Croft, Neeve or Neece Croft, and Sorrtop, but the annual rent to the lord is now stated as 3s. 9½d. Kilne Croft has been identified and is shown upon the plan of Haldworth.

† In the inquest taken after the death of Thomas de Furnival, senior, in 1322: ‘Also they say that the pannage of Ryvelyngden and Loxley was worth yearly forty shillings, but now it is worth nothing for want of tenants.’ A like lack of tenants appears at Eckington in the inquest taken after the death of John de Stoteville in the same year.

because in his own person he has made a journey in the King's service, or on behalf of his own service has satisfied the King in any manner (4). '*Forinsecum servitium*' is thus in all ordinary instances a fixed payment due to the King. Thorold Rogers shows that at Cheddington in 1318-59 eleven shillings were paid out annually under this head; in 1363, the amount for some reason unknown has risen to twelve shillings, at which it remains constant (5). A Derbyshire instrument of the year 1291, releasing the rent of two shillings and an arrow due from a tenement in the fee of Burneston, divides the payment into its component parts: '*Foreign service, that is to say threepence yearly for the toll of Tutbury, threepence ad le Schirrevestuc et ad palefridum, and scutage when it runs, that is to say, two shillings and sixpence*' (6). Here the toll of Tutbury will represent some rent to the Crown payable throughout the Honour of that name; *ad palefridum* is 'palfrey silver', a payment made annually, perhaps for the Sheriff's journeys; and *schirrevestuc* is, of course, 'Sheriff's tooth', the ancient levy for the support of the Sheriff's table. Amongst the petitions of uncertain date in the reign of Edward III, will be found one from the commonalty of Derbyshire, representing that an unjust levy has been made upon them by the King's bailiffs, which is called *schirrevestothe*, that is to say of every oxgang sixpence, whereof nothing comes to the King's profit. The King replies that it is an ancient profit appertaining to the Sheriff's firm, and cannot be relaxed (7). As scutage is included in foreign service, the tenure of every holding which owes such service is military.

Besides out-service, there is a reservation also in the charter to Ralph Underhill of the lord's rights of pasturage and inclosure throughout Hallamshire. This tends to show that the tenants of de Furnival in the thirteenth century enjoyed by favour certain advantages in the woods and upon the wastes, though they did not hold them by custom or by law; it was the third Thomas de Furnival (1280-1332) who first gave by legal instrument common of pasture on the moors, herbage, and foliage in Loxley Chase, to the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlets (8).

The charter with which we have been dealing is accom-

panied by another of the same date (the witnesses being identical) by which de Furnival grants to Thomas de Haldworth an oxgang and a half of land in the township of that name, lying 'between the wood called Lockeslay on the east and the rivulet called le Sputesyke on the west, and between the water called Stene* on the south and the moor called Onesmor on the north.' This will be the land 'between Lokkeslay wood and Spouttesike', otherwise described as 'between Lokkeslay wood on the east and the fields of Haldeworth on the west', which is dealt with by several charters at Renishaw belonging to the years 1379-96. It passed from the Revels, through the families of Basse and Hawksworth, to George Eyre of Haldworth, with whose eldest daughter it came to Thomas Kent of Povey Hall, and so in 1680 by marriage to the Sitwells. Of the oxgang and a half granted to Thomas de Haldworth, the sixteen acres sold by Sir George Sitwell in 1843 should be a part. But the latter property, now known as Green End Farm, lies too high up the Bank to have had Loxley Water as its southern boundary, and one is therefore forced to the conclusion that the charters at Renishaw must refer to other lands of George Eyre's, which were inherited by his younger daughters, though the title-deeds passed with the share of their elder sister.

The two properties granted by de Furnival in these charters were evidently near each other. As both are bounded on their eastern border by the Chase, they seem to be in echelon, and it is clear that Onesmoor overlapped the township on the west and drove into it on the east. The position of the half-oxgang held by the Smalbynds and after them by the Hurts, is fixed by the statement that 'Bentelane' bounded it on the West. When Nichols, commenting on this charter, says that 'Bents' and 'Bentslane'† will be found south of Hald-

* Stene is the ancient name of the Loxley river. See B.M. Addit. MS. 24467, fos. 62 *bis*, 67. It is strange that no one has pointed this out before. Mr. S. Addy writes: 'Stene would be pronounced Stainer in the thirteenth century, and later. To the north of Bradfield there is a valley called Stainery Clough, through which a strong stream flows and empties itself into the Derwent in Howden on Howden Moor. This, however, cannot be the Stene of Furnival's charter. Sweet, in his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, gives a late Northumbrian word, Stæner, meaning stony ground, and the Stene at Haldworth is obviously connected with it in derivation and meaning, both words coming from *stān*, stone.'

† Bent, or Ben Greave Lane abouched upon the Chase, and must have been used

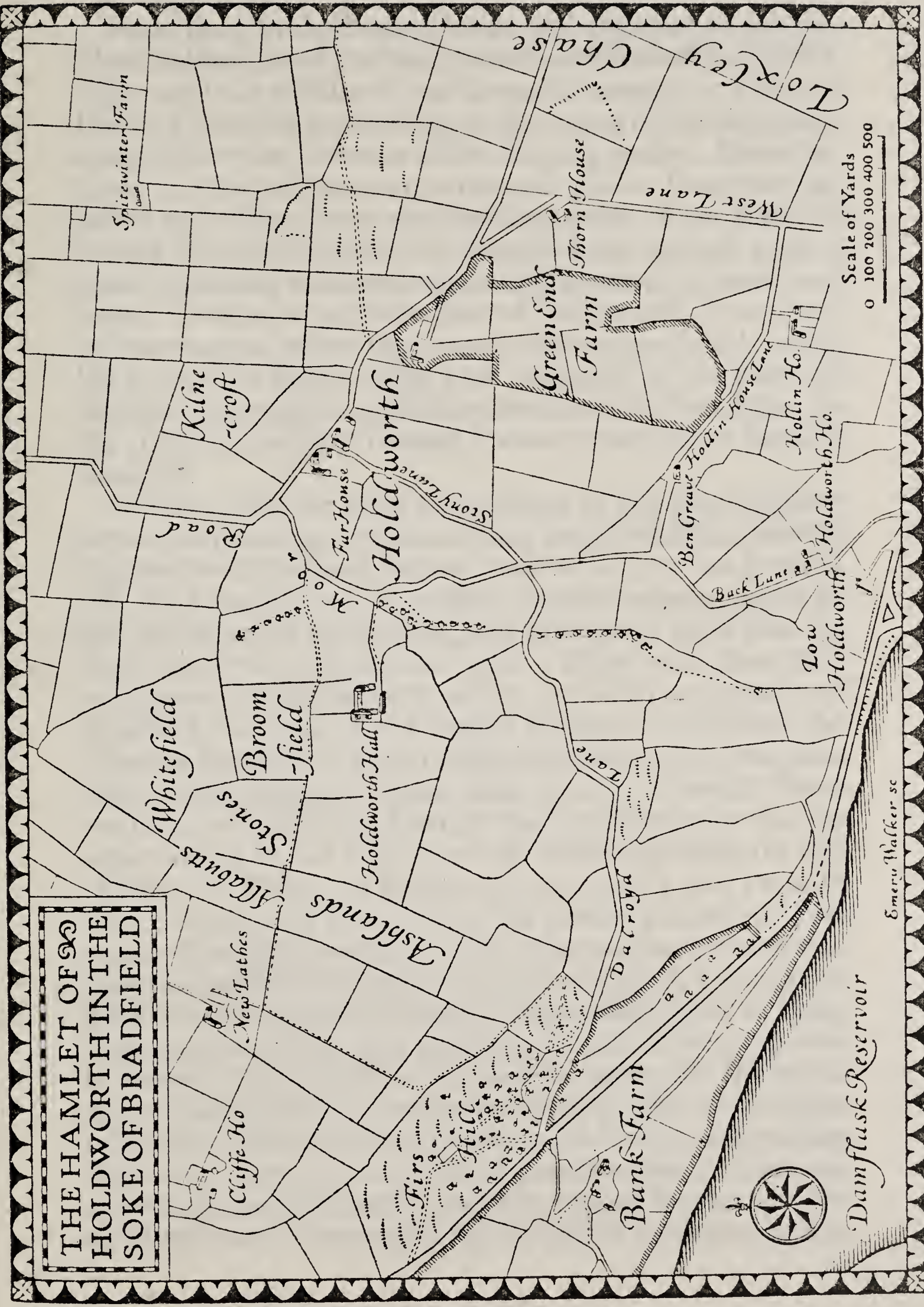
worth village, he evidently refers to 'Ben Greave' and 'Ben Greave Lane' which we find in the place mentioned. This last, now called 'Hollin House Lane', is the connecting link between Back Lane (formerly Dam Flask Lane) on the east, and that known as West Lane. In the Loxley Chase Award of 1789 the allotment numbered 196a, a triangular piece of ground between Dam Flask Lane and Ben Greave Lane, is described as having the latter to the south of it and to the west. The old enclosure of the Bradfield feoffees, just below, might then be described as having Ben Greave Lane to the north and west, or more roughly as lying between Loxley and the Lane.* This may be the site of the half-oxgang, unless we are to suppose that the name Bent Lane was extended along what are now known as Bank Lane and Moor Road, and that the site was about Kilncroft, which in 1684 was one of the closes attached to Hurt House. Just above the feoffees' old inclosure, on the land which in 1789 belonged to Samuel Phipps, Esquire, we shall see upon the Ordnance the field already mentioned named 'Ben Greave', the 'Smallbend Greave' of the earlier surrenders. 'Ben Greave Lane', according to Nichols, was known also as 'Bentslane', and one is inclined to suspect that the 'Bentelane' of Furnival's charter may be a variant of Smalbihend or Smalbent Lane. The 'small' may have been omitted here, as in the Award of 1789, owing to a mistaken idea that it was merely a qualifying adjective, and not part of the name.

to take sheep and cattle thither for pasturage. The old approach to the village will have been from the low road by what are now called Back Lane and Stony Lane.

* See the Loxley Chase Award map of 1789 at the Duke of Norfolk's Estate office in Sheffield, and the modern copy of the Award, pp. 34, 46, 65, 79 *bis*. Ben Greave Lane runs to the south and east of 196a, the east of 196, the north of 194a and 193, and joins West Lane to the south of the long strip numbered 192. It appears from the Ordnance Map that the lane has been straightened since 1789.

On January 19, 1506-7, Alice Hurt's grandfather surrenders 'Le Smalbehind Greve' to Thomas Statham, who on the 2nd March passes it to the use of Richard Greve. In the court books now at Norfolk House, Richard, son and heir of Robert Greve, is admitted to the parcel of assart land called 'Smalebent Greve', 8th March 1552-3, his father being lately dead, and on the 30th December 1617, Nicholas Whitley, *alias* Morton, surrenders to Adamson his 21 years' lease of 'Smalebent Greave' from Robert Greave, which he had by surrender dated 1 March 1613. In the later court rolls now at Messrs. Wake's office in Sheffield, the messuage and parcel of assart land are called 'Small Bend Greave' in surrenders of 17 June 1641, 7 May 1684, 9 April 1723, 14 July 1748. An entry of 4 March, 1769, renders the name as 'Small Bengreave'; in the Inclosure Award of 1789 and on the modern ordnance it is 'Ben Greave', the 'small' having dropped out.

THE HAMLET OF
HOLDWORTH IN THE
SOKE OF BRADFELD



Scale of Yards
0 100 200 300 400 500

Emeru Walker sc

Damflask Reservoir

Here, then, in their oaken house and chamber on the *Sub Monte* holding, lived the Smalbynds from Edward the Third's reign until the middle of the sixteenth century, so close to Loxley Chase that by listening to the sound of the horn they could follow the fortunes of the hunting parties. From the house one looked down upon the mill-pool at Damflask, far below the village, upon the winding course of the Stene or Loxley Water, and above the wooded bank beyond, upon a great expanse of wild country consisting mostly of moor and forest. In front were the hamlets of Dungworth, Storrs, and of Stannington, where the Roman tablets were found; to the left across the broad valley now occupied by the town of Sheffield, one might see Walkley Bank and the Peak hills; to the right a broad gap opened a view to the moors beyond Bradfield.

In those days the great occupations of life were military service and farming; the latter being one of which no man in England was ashamed, for, as Thorold Rogers has pointed out, the younger sons of knightly families usually turned to the profession of agriculture, and even great peers like the Berkeleys were only farmers upon a larger scale than their neighbours. At Ecclesfield, which, including its chapelry of Bradfield, was one of the largest parishes in England, the *Nonarum Inquisitio* of 1340-1 shows that except four chapmen with goods ranging in value from 30s. to 10 marks, 'there are none within the said parish that live otherwise than by agriculture.' In this district, as may be inferred from the will of Henry de Birley, the franklin, in 1391, every man's wealth was in sheep, and these during the greater part of the year required but little attention. Once, or sometimes twice a week, the owner rode out through Chase or moorland, to look over his stock, sending out his dogs in various directions to bring them together at the spot required. For the most part, even in winter, they fended for themselves, eating the last year's grass, finding herbage and roots amongst gorse and heather or beneath the thorn trees, breaking ash boughs and peeling them from top to bottom, feeding greedily upon the bark and smooth leaves of the holly branches, lopped for them by the shepherd's axe. Necessity is the mother of invention, and in

the absence of root crops the practice of feeding the forest deer with 'browsewood', which, having been stored, was scattered about in frosty weather, had been adopted also for sheep. In the forests, oak twigs not more than an inch in circumference were most in favour, but holly and ivy, as well as maple, hazel, thorn, and ash were sometimes given instead (9). For feeding sheep, holly only was used, and on the commons in the neighbourhood of the sheep-farms there were plantations of such trees which were let out to various tenants at a yearly rent.*

'In the south-west of Yorkshire, at and about Bradfield, and in Derbyshire,' writes De la Pryme (10) in 1696, 'they feed all their sheep in winter with holly leaves and bark, which they eat more greedily than any grass. To every farm there is so many holly trees; and the more there is, the farm is dearer; but care is taken to plant great numbers of them in all farms thereabouts. And all these holly trees are smooth-leaved and not prickly. As soon as the sheep sees the sheppard come with an axe in his hand, they follow him to the first tree he comes at, and stands all in a round about the tree, expecting impatiently the fall of a bow, which, when it is fallen, all as many as can eat thereof, and the sheppard going further to another tree, all those that could not come in unto the eating of the first follow him to this, and so on. As soon as they have eaten all the leaves, they begin of the bark and paire it all of.'

Upon this Mr. Sidney Addy observes in his *Hall of Waltheof*: 'I can hardly imagine a more striking picture of old country life, I might almost say of patriarchial life, than that of the shepherds feeding their sheep in winter on the evergreen trees with which the steep and rocky sides of the Loxley valley were clothed.'

No land was kept under the plough except what was necessary to feed the family and farm-servants, and for this reason seed-time and harvest, as Kinder tells us was the case in the Peak of Derbyshire, were over in a few weeks. Thus a great part of the year was left free for other duties and for pleasure; licence to hawk over the moors, to fish in the stream, could be obtained at a small fixed payment from the steward of the manor; suit of court and military service had to be rendered at the castle of Sheffield, and the gnarled oaks and

* In Mr. Addy's *Hall of Waltheof* a list of persons who paid 'hollin rents' at Bradfield in 1624 will be found, amongst whom a later Walter Hurt appears as rendering 20s for one hagge.

holly coppices of the Chase must have been weirdly beautiful on summer evenings, as one rode home in the sunset hour. There were Christmas festivities in the Castle hall to which, according to the custom of the age, the tenants of each manor were invited on one day or another; sometimes one of those great feasts and religious ceremonies which celebrated a marriage or a funeral in the family of its lords. On Sundays, there was Mass at the great chapel of Bradfield a mile away, sweet with music and incense, bright with colour and imagery; and once a year came the fair at Rotherham enlivened by sword- and rope-dancers, minstrels, and buffoons. But the great events of a lifetime were those military expeditions in Scotland or France in which so many of the Hallamshire free-tenants were engaged year after year, serving as men-at-arms, hobelars, pikemen, or mounted archers, under the banner of de Furnival or Talbot. That opportunities of such service were frequent, the evidence is clear. Thomas Lord Furnival, known as the 'Hasty', was with Edward III at Crecy and during other campaigns on the Continent. The great Lord Shrewsbury was fighting in France almost incessantly from 1428, when he first commanded the English army, until 1452. When he fell at Chatillon in the following year, it is said that his bodyguard, raised amongst the tenantry, was so completely wiped out that there was mourning in almost every house in Hallamshire. The second Earl, who took part in his father's campaigns, was slain at Northampton in 1460, he and his brother, Sir Christopher Talbot, being adherents of the house of Lancaster. The third Earl, when barely fourteen years old, took part in the second battle of St. Albans. In 1470, Sir Gilbert Talbot, uncle to the fourth Earl (who was then in his minority), with a large force composed principally of the family tenants, met Richard III at Newport, and contributed mainly to decide the fortune of the day at Bosworth. The young Earl appeared in person at the battle of Stoke, and in 1489-90 held a command in the expedition sent to aid Maximilian against the King of France. In 1489 he was one of the commanders of the King's army which put down the Yorkshire insurrection, and a year later, when there was a rising in the west part of the county, fought and subdued the

rebels at Ackworth near Pontefract. In view of this long record of foreign and domestic wars, it is hardly too much to say that from 1340 to 1500, every free-tenant in Hallamshire who was not incapacitated by physical disability must have served in arms during some period of his life.

William Smalbihend, or Smalbynd, was apparently succeeded in 1379 by the John already mentioned, who between that date and 1420 had various grants of copyhold in Bradfield, including the two oxgangs passed by the later surrender of 1545-6, these being known under the names of the vendors as 'Beightonland' and 'Stoneland'. Upon the latter, when it was bought in 1418, there was already a messuage, used in succeeding generations both by the Smallbynds and by the Hurts after them to furnish a home for the eldest son of the family upon his marriage, or to provide for him in childhood with a view to his preferment. This messuage stood on the site now occupied by Haldworth Hall.* The two oxgangs were 'assart land', arable won from the waste of Onesmoor; covered originally, as the names of the closes indicate, with heath and broom, and granted out as copyhold, probably in the thirteenth century, to the predecessors of the vendors at the rate of twenty acres to the oxgang.

* The messuage and two oxgangs acquired by William Smalbihend by surrenders of 1380-1420 are clearly identical with those conveyed by John Smalbynd to his son Robert on the 18th February 1499-1500, by the latter to Alice his daughter and her husband Walter Hurt on the 11th February 1545-6, by the Hurts to their infant son Robert, in 1552. These two oxgangs lay close together; one of them—probably Stoneland, as the messuage must always have occupied its present site, adjacent to the road—was divided into three closes called the Cotefeild, Broomfeild and Heathfeild, containing altogether twenty acres; the other into the Ashlands, Alabutts, Whitefeild, and Farrfeild. Robert Hurt mentioned above, the son of Walter and Alice Smalbent, by surrender of 23 March 1611, repeated 9 March 1612-13, gave to Walter Hurt his son and heir for the term of his life all these closes except the Cotefeild, as may be seen in the books of court rolls at Norfolk House (11). The inquisition in the manor court after his death in 1622 shows that he died possessed of the messuage and two oxgangs.

In 1633 Walter Hurt sold the Cotefeild (upon which, as it is usually the first mentioned, the messuage probably stood), the Broomfeild and Heathfeild with their appurtenances, to the Adamsons. Whether the messuage passed with the appurtenances or by a later sale does not appear; but that it was upon this oxgang, is clear from the fact that there was never a messuage upon the other. We have Hunter's statement that Edward Adamson, junior, was 'of Haldworth, which he bought of Walter Hurt and Robert his son, 1633', and later surrenders show a house upon these lands, which before 1721 has acquired the name of Haldworth Hall, The 'John Hague of Holdworth-hall' whose daughter is baptized 13 April 1721; is son of the John who married Ann Adamson, 29 August, 1682.

To return to John Smalbynd; he witnesses three charters in the present writer's possession of the years 1379, 1382, and 1396, relating to the affairs of the Revels of Haldworth, then the principal free-tenants in the hamlet, and to the property which afterwards came into possession of George Eyre and the Kents; that of 1382, which was executed at Rotherham, has been quoted by Eastwood, who, however, gives the year in error as 1389. It is a release by William, son of John Ryvell of Haldeworth to Sir John Raynold of Ecclesfield, chaplain, and his assigns, or the right heirs of William Reynald of Ecclesfield, of all his rights in a messuage, lands, and tenements in Haldeworth formerly belonging to John Ryvell. The other witnesses are Henry de Birlay, William de Birlay, John de Morwod, John de Leeston, William Witspone, Robert de Haldeworth. The date given is Monday next after the Feast of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, *anno* 6 Richard II (Monday, 24th November 1382). Of the two principals and seven witnesses, three at least were from Haldworth, the remainder from the same parish of Ecclesfield. The distance by road from the former place to Rotherham is quite fifteen miles, and it would seem that the whole party, including William Ryvell, Sir John Raynold the chaplain, and Henry de Birlay the franklin (the same whose Will has already been referred to), must have ridden over to the fair, which was held every year on the Feast of St. Edmund, the two previous and five following days (13). Here they brought their wool for sale in those huge packs which were the envy of foreign nations, made their purchases of cloth and fur, wine, linen, salt, leather orpewter; watched the jugglers and buffoons, the tumblers and the performing bear; listened to the minstrels chanting to the sound of the viol interminable tales of Robin Hood; then, after dinner at the principal inn (probably the Swan in the beast-market), they executed the charter before setting out upon the return journey. On the day chosen for the outing, the fun of the fair was at its height, for Monday was also market day.

William Ryvel's seal bears a coat of arms—three pales and over all a bend: the legend as read from another impression seems to be S. GUILLEROY. D'CROSYER—a foreign name which suggests that the seal itself was a spoil of the French

war. The earlier charter of 1379, executed at Haldworth, also brings one in touch for a moment with the life of those days, one of the seals being impressed with a coin of convenient size, apparently a half-groat of silver.*

It is strange that the three charters dated at Haldworth† are witnessed not only by the persons named, of whom some are from Ecclesfield or Bradfield, but also by 'many others'; and one wonders whether an archery meeting or a church-ale could have drawn strangers to the little hamlet at the top of the hill. The more usual formula, at least in the Eckington neighbourhood, is simply 'and others'. But on second thoughts it seems more probable that the 'many' consist only of the remaining residents in the hamlet, called together for the purpose at the door of the Revell's house. The effectual act in a grant of land or in a release of right, was the delivery of seisin, the words of the charter which followed being usually: '*I have given and granted and by this present charter have confirmed*': such delivery was often made in church 'before all the parishioners', and a legal document was only necessary as written evidence of the fact. Mr. Sidney Addy, to whom the writer owes his information on the subject, quotes a charter of 1353 relating to Handsworth, delivered (*datum*) in the presence of eight witnesses whose names are given, and 'of others standing round' (*aliorum circumstantium*‡). This phrase exactly agrees with the procedure laid down in 'Les Termes de la Ley', a book which first appeared in about 1550, but records the practices of an earlier day.

'Delivery of Seisin: Witnesses. The common manner of Deliverie of Seisin is thus: If it be in the open field, where there is no building or house, then one that can read takes the writing in his hand, if the estate passe by deed, and declares it to the standers-by the cause of their meeting there together, etc. and then openly reads the deed, or declares the effect thereof; and after that is sealed, the party who is to depart from the ground takes the deed in his hands, with a clod of the earth, and a

* In 1770, in the house of Richard Wood of Ecclesfield, a treasure of groats and half-groats belonging to the reign of Edward III was found. They were numerous enough to fill a peck-measure, and were sold *en masse* for sixty pounds. Hunter's *Hallamshire*, p. 430.

† In the first week of Lent, 1379, on Tuesday the 21st June of the same year, and on Thursday, 1 June 1396.

‡ In ancient Iceland a circle was formed by the bystanders to witness a legal act. See the story of Howard the Halt, Morris and Magnusson, pp. 21, 25, 26.

twig or bough, if any be there, which he delivers to the other party in the name of possession or seisin, according to the form and effect of the deed there read or declared. But if there be a dwelling house or building upon the land, then this is done at the door of the same, none being left at that time within the house; and the party delivers all aforesaid, with the ring of the door, in the name of seisin or possession; and he that receives the livery enters in first alone, and shuts the door, and presently opens it again and lets them in.'

The two daughters and co-heirs of John Smalbynd's eldest son William, who had held also two oxgangs in Hallam, released to their cousin Thomas all their right in their grandfather's freehold property at Haldworth and within the territory of Bradfield, by the following charter, dated at 'Scheffeld' on (Thursday) the 11th June 1450. The good ladies had chosen a quiet day when the serenity of the little town was undisturbed by fair or market, to make a jaunt to Sheffield with their cousin, and were probably assembled with the other Bradfield folk at some inn in Prior-gate or market-place, unless, indeed, they were buying wine or wine-casks at the house of Thomas Schaw, one of the witnesses, who describes himself as a 'cooper,' or maker of barrels.

'Johanna and Isabella, daughters of William Smalbynd son of John Smalbynd of Haldworth, release and quitclaim to Thomas Smalbynd of Haldworth son of John Smalbynd of the same, all their right in all the lands and tenements which were formerly in the tenure of John Smalbynd within the bounds of Bradfield. Witnesses, Thomas Schaw, couper, John Maryot of Onesacre, Robert Hanelay, Richard Bromeheide of Bradfeld, Richard Hobson of Smalfelde, and others.'

The original seals are still attached, the first exhibiting an elaborate capital H, the second within an octagon a tau cross with patonce ends.

The effect of the charter would be to clear Thomas's title to the property, of which he may already have been for some time in possession. From his father, he had by surrender in 1421 an oxgang of assart land with a messuage upon it together with other lands in Haldworth, and as already stated, appears in the feodary of 1451 as paying a reasonable aid upon half an oxgang of free land at that place toward the cost of knight-ing Lord Shrewsbury's eldest son and marrying his eldest daughter. The copyhold estate is not mentioned in the feodary, because the feudal aids were leviable only upon freehold.

Up to this point the Smalbynds, like the Hurts after them, invariably describe themselves as 'of Haldworth'; but we now meet with a single exception to the rule, namely a surrender of 18th February 1499-1500,* in which Alice's grandfather, passing Beightonland and Stoneland to his eldest son, is said to be 'of Hauldworth Banck'. Amongst all the early documents relating to Bradfield, the local name 'Haldworth Bank' is only twice met with before this date, namely in a charter of 1342 quoted in the foot-note,† and a surrender of 1410-11; the name was not yet in common use, and its appearance in the surrender of 1499-1500 has had a very confusing effect. Both Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty and the present writer, perhaps Hunter also, were led by this and other coincident circumstances to believe that the Smalbynds resided at a very interesting old house which is to be found at the foot of Haldworth Bank. This belonged in the seventeenth century to the Adamsons, who are stated to have bought it from the Hurts. Hunter, in his *Familie Minorum Gentium* says that the Edward Adamson who married in 1641 was 'of Haldworth in the chapelry of Bradfield, which he and his father Edward bought of Walter Hurt and Robert his son, 1633'; referring, one would naturally suppose, to the old house at the foot of the Bank, which certainly was in the younger Edward's possession from 1644 until the time of his death. We find the same person holding other lands bought from the Hurts, as also Small Bend Greave, which had once belonged to the Smalbynds.

Under these circumstances, few people would have hesitated to draw the deduction that the old house now known as Haldworth Bank was once the property of the Hurts. Yet on careful investigation it turned out that the house of the Adamsons at the Bank was on copyhold land,‡ not free-

* It is dated R.R. H. VII, the year being omitted, which elsewhere appears as 15 Hen. VII.

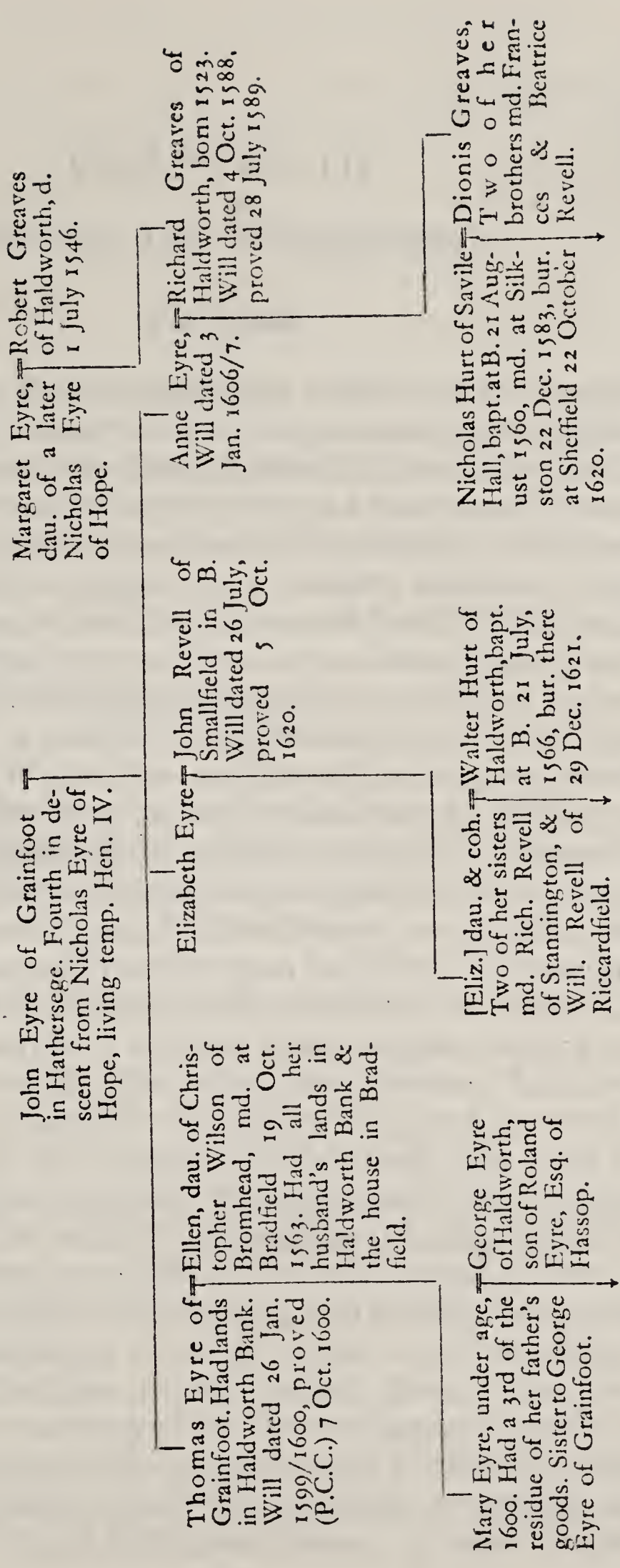
† 'Thomas, son of Roger le Wodeward, quitclaims to John son of Thomas Tagge, all his right in a messuage which Henry son of John the Miller formerly held at Haldewurth Bank, on the north side of the water of Stene. Witnesses, Thomas the miller, Robert del Swynock, Roger de Haldworthwode, Thomas de Wyrall, Robert son of Henry. Dated at Bradfeld, 1342' (15).

‡ In a presentment by the homage of 13 April 1732, the closes into which the property was divided are named as the 'Farr Meadowe, Cow Close, Nether Birkinfield, Upper Birkinfield, Stubbs, Carr, Stone Delfe, Little Field, ffarfield, Cow pasture'.

hold. Against a surrender of it in June 1641, the steward has written on the margin of the book, 'Antiently Adamson's land', and the site can be traced since 1435 in the possession of that family. It is true that Edward Adamson the younger did reside until the death in 1644 of his brother or relative, George Adamson, at a house bought from Walter Hurt (16), namely, that upon the site now occupied by Haldworth Hall, but this again was copyhold and was situated not below, but above the Bank.

Walter Hurt had only one freehold house in Haldworth, which was sold, not to Edward Adamson, but to the John Ibbotson whose daughter married firstly Nicholas Shirecliffe of Whitley Hall, and secondly Thomas Statham, gentleman, father of Sir John Statham. Mr. Ibbotson, in his Will dated 28 March 1684, leaves to his daughter Mrs. Shirecliffe, then of Whitley Hall but afterwards of Tideswell, his 'messuage in Haldsworth called Hurt House, which he had purchased of one Walter Hurt, with all buildings, edifices, barns, stables, orchards, gardens, etc., etc., thereunto belonging.' Upon the admission of Mrs. Shirecliffe to her father's copyhold estate in October of the same year, the freehold property is also described upon the rolls as consisting of 'a messuage or tenement called Hurt House with its appurtenances in Haldworth, and separate closes called by the names of the Kilne Croft, Rye Croft, Wellhouse Croft, Neeve Croft, and Sorrtop in Haldworth', held (evidently in socage) by an annual rent to the lord of 3*s.* 9½*d.* It must be presumed that only some of these closes formed part of the twelve acres returned in the inquisition of 1622, and that the bulk of the rent was due from the remainder. It is with regret that one abandons the theory that Alice Smalbynd's father or husband built the old Adamson house, but proof to the contrary is clear. In the latter half of the sixteenth century the lands above as well as below the Bank are often described as 'lying upon Haldworth Bank'; the Greaves, Eyres, and Hawksworths who lived on the higher ground describe themselves as 'of Haldworth Bank', and there is therefore no justification for the idea that the Smalbynds or Hurts ever removed from their old home overlooking Loxley Chase.

III. THE EYRES OF GRAINFOOT.



See *Fam. Min. Gent.*, pp. 545, 563. The John Revell who acted as attorney for the surrender from Smalbynd to Hurt in 1545/6 was probably father of the John Revell of Smallfield who made his Will in 1620. Nicholas Stead of Onesacre, who died before May 1571, had married a daughter of... Revell of Smallfield (*Fam. Min. Gent.*, p. 331).

CHAPTER III

HOUSES AND FURNISHING

The House

IN 1546, when Robert Smalbynd made over the copyhold messuage and lands to his daughter, he retained the freehold house upon Haldworth Bank in which his family had so long resided, with certain other property, as a provision for his old age. We do not know the extent of his holding, which must have been small as judged by a modern standard, though undoubtedly larger than that afterwards held by his descendants; but, as already pointed out in the Introduction, within the Chapelry of Bradfield grazing rights multiplied the value of land sixfold or tenfold. This freehold house of the Smalbynds, to which Walter Hurt and his wife succeeded upon the death of her father in 1552, was refurnished by Walter, as is shown by a Memorandum printed at length in Chapter IV; and there is reason to suppose that he replaced the old wooden structure by one of stone. Neither his son nor grandson were in a position to spend money upon building, for though the younger branches of the family continued to flourish, the parent stem decayed. Yet there seems to have been a good house upon the site in 1684, when John Ibbetson left it to his daughter, Mrs. Shirecliffe of Whitley Hall, and she with her second husband, Mr. Statham of Tideswell, may have used it as an occasional residence, their daughter, Jane Statham, having been buried with the Shirecliffes at Ecclesfield Church in 1709. Its subsequent history cannot be traced, and we may presume that being old-fashioned and unsuited to modern ideas of convenience or comfort, it sank to the condition of an ordinary farmhouse, or was pulled down. The type, as we know from a mention of the 'Over-chamber' in 1561, was that almost universal at the time in South Yorkshire, consisting of a house-place or hall with chamber or parlour set at right angles to it and bedrooms above. It must therefore

have resembled the copyhold house of the Adamsons now known at Haldworth Bank, but as built by a freeholder with a somewhat larger estate will have been more commodious.

Some idea of the furnishing, as it was in the sixteenth century, may be obtained from the Memorandum* printed on page 51—a list of heirlooms which came to Robert Hurt upon the death of his father in 1560/1, and from an inventory of his son Walter's household goods, taken in February 1631/2. At the latter date the second Walter Hurt of Haldworth was already fifty-six years old, living in somewhat reduced circumstances with a wife who was elderly like himself, and it may be presumed (the solid oak furniture of a house being then almost as immovable as the freehold) that little had been taken away or added since the death of his grandfather seventy years before. We may thus see in imagination the house-place with its oak-joisted ceiling, its bold projecting chimney-breast adorned with the owner's iron head-piece, cuirass, and sword. Against the side wall stood a livery cupboard, carved perhaps like that at Wentworth with Gothic tracery, for the price is something above the common,† and having a few pieces of pewter upon it. A massive oak bench‡ formed part of the oaken partition against the parlour, the upright members to which the arms were attached being framed in between the planks and connected overhead by a bracketed cornice; above hung a sixteen-foot 'bill' or horseman's pike, with a couple of unstrung bows, and in front of this bench stood a long table. There were a few

* 'The Inventory of the Goods and Chattells of Walter Hurt of Hauldworth within the Chappellry of Bradfeld, made & prayesd the XVIth day of february 1631, by Richard Bromehead, Edward Adamson, John Greaves, and Robert Rawson.' Amongst the Wilson MSS. Canon Wilson of Bolsterstone most kindly furnished a copy.

† Hurt Inventory, 1632:

<i>Item</i> , one longe table, one litle table & a counter	xxs.
<i>Item</i> , 4 cheares	iijs.
<i>Item</i> , 8 quishens	iijs.
<i>Item</i> , one Cubard	xxs.

‡ In houses such as Haldworth a long settle, placed opposite the fire in winter, with its back to it in summer, was almost invariably found. But here no settle is mentioned; its place, as in the house at Upper Midhope described by Mr. Addy, must have been taken by a bench fixed to the partition wall. At Povey Hall in Dronfield within the memory of some now living a 'long settle' was fixed in front of the deep ingle nook in one of the parlours on the ground floor. On the beam above the projection to which it was attached may yet be seen.

needlework 'quishens' worked in blue or crimson to relieve the hardness of the seat, for the upholstered furniture which first appeared in the stuffed and padded age of James I had not yet found its way into general use. The tablecloth of homespun linen* was laid with beechen trenchers,† together with a couple of plain pewter salts and a suitable complement of 'dublers' or platters large and small, of saucers and pottingers of the same metal. The list of 1561 shows that there were in the house two or more 'mayssers', or drinking cups of finely variegated maple. Such cups were often delicately carved with frieze and inscription; many had a band or rim, nearly all a 'print' or circular medallion of silver at the bottom of the bowl. Mazens had almost gone out of use by the year 1550, and these strike one as the oldest and most interesting things in the house, going back perhaps to the first settlement in the fourteenth century of the Smalbynds at Haldworth or of the Hurts at Ashbourne.

The low-ceiled 'chamber', or parlour, looking out upon the garden, had in it a 'little table', probably round, four oak chairs, a large chest, and in the corner between fireplace and window a 'counter' or writing table, perhaps the very one at which the *Memorandum* of 1561 was drawn up. The stone pavement was strewn with sweet-scented rushes. Against the partition of oak planks which divided it from the hall, stood a carved bedstead, unused, with short knopped posts,‡

* The table and cupboard cloths, napkins and towels, are omitted from the inventory, and must therefore have been the property of Mrs. Hurt; probably the brass chafing dish, then to be found in almost every house, and some of the pewter, belonged to her as well. The table carpets may also have been her handiwork.

† In the small house at Upper Midhope described by Mr. Addy, besides pewter dishes, two round wooden trenchers once used there as dinner plates are preserved. These are very neatly turned, being hollowed on both sides, so that after meat had been eaten from one face, they could be turned to eat pudding from the other; and show no signs of the use of knife or fork. Eating with the fingers was, of course, the custom in farmhouses throughout the seventeenth century. In an *Epigrime on Tobacco* written by Leonard Wheatcroft of Ashover in Derbyshire, the yeoman poet, we have the lines:

He is a frugall man in deed
That on a leafe can dine;
He needs no napkin for his hands,
His finger ends to wipe,
That keeps his kitchin in a box,
And rost meat in a pipe (1).

‡ *Shakespeare's England*, vol. ii, p. 122. In the first half of the sixteenth century a bedstead was to be found in the parlour of every house, great or small, the custom

having upon it a coverlet brightly embroidered in red and blue with birds and flowers. The principal bedroom, known in the sixteenth century as the 'Over Chamber', was equipped with a 'sealed' or testered four-post bed,* probably with curtains of painted cloth;† a 'gret Arke' for holding linen and valuables occupied the usual position at the bedfoot, and here at the earlier date may have stood the other writing table referred to in the list of heirlooms. The remaining chambers had 'arckes' to serve as wardrobes,‡ and 'lowe bedsteads' like that in the parlour beneath. The coverlets must have been rather elaborate, as six coverlets and seven blankets are valued at £3, the worth of thirteen sheep. That there should be five arkes in the house and only four chairs marks the primitiveness, not of Bradfield alone but of all England, for we are told that under Elizabeth 'important houses certainly possessed more chests than chairs' (2); yet it may be supposed that here as elsewhere light stools and forms of

being unbroken since the days when the 'chamber' combined the functions of sitting-room and bedroom. The owner had now ceased to occupy the bed at night, but it served on great occasions for an honoured guest, and at other times may have been used as a lounge or settee during the daytime. When the bed was excluded from the parlour, which in the ordinary manor-house was about the time of the Restoration, the 'day-bed' took its place, to be succeeded in its turn by the sofa of the modern drawing-room. According to Foley, even in the latter half of the eighteenth century 'beds were still frequently to be found in the parlours and halls of English and colonial homes of considerable size', there being often a need for more sleeping accommodation than the bedrooms could afford. *Book of Decorative Furniture*, vol. i, pp. 215, 418; vol. ii, p. 144.

* Hurt Inventory, 1632:

<i>Item</i> , 6 Coverlets and 7 blanckets,	iiij <i>li</i> .
<i>Item</i> , one sealed bed stead	xx <i>s</i> .
<i>Item</i> , 3 lowe bed stead	x <i>s</i> .
<i>Item</i> , 5 arckes	xxx <i>s</i> .

† In the inventory of Thomas Kent of Povey Hall, Dronfield, in 1583, we have:— 'In the over chambre. *Item*, iij payre of bedestockes with the peynted clothes abowt them, v*js*.' In the Inventory of Anthony Marryat of Rawmarsh, 1599:— '*Item*, xiiij bedsteades with certayne paynted clothes thereto belonging, xxv*js*. viij*d*.' Hentzner, who visited England in 1598, says of our ancestors that 'their beds are covered with needlework, even those of farmers,' and Harrison in 1577-87 declares that the inferior artificers and most farmers garnished their joined beds with tapestry and silk hangings. Even in the smaller houses the best bedchamber was richly furnished, for it was the custom of the age that a mother, after the birth of her child, should receive congratulatory visits from all her friends in her 'lying-in chamber'. Engravings of the seventeenth century show the entertainment and refreshment of the guests proceeding in the room, with the mother and child in bed. Macquoid, vol. i, p. 200.

‡ Wittels in 1616 has:— 'The chest wherein apparel is kept, *Vestiararia arca*'; 'The presse for clothes, *scrinium vestiarium*.' Presses, which Macquoid calls hanging wardrobes, had only lately come into use, and in old-fashioned houses arks were the only receptacles for articles of clothing.

soft wood existed, but were not considered 'worth praysing'. 'Two packe saddles and a hackne saddle', a number of 'bowls and dishes', which we must assume to have been of wood, conclude with 'other huslements' the inventory, the amount being in all £92 11s. 8d.* In the kitchen and back premises hung 'certaine sault flesh' valued at £4, the price of eighteen sheep.

This inventory of 1632 does not, of course, include the furniture of the copyhold house, then occupied by Robert Hurt, the only son of Walter. It is interesting to compare it with that of a near neighbour, George Eyre of Haldworth Bank, a younger son by the first marriage of that Rowland Eyre, Esquire, of Hassop, whose second wife was the widow of Robert Sytwell.† Rowland Eyre's eldest son was ancestor of the titular earls of Newburgh, and another of his younger sons was 'of the Presence Chamber to King James'. To a deed of exchange dated 6 September 1627, between this George Eyre and Henry Bromhead of Nether Bradfield, Robert Hurt of Haldworth is the first witness, and indeed the two families were closely connected, Mr. Eyre's wife, Mary Eyre of Grainfoot in Hathersege, being first cousin once removed to the wife of Nicholas Hurt. George Eyre died in 1629, leaving three daughters and co-heirs,‡ of whom the eldest, Gertrude, took to husband Thomas Kent of Povey Hall in Dronfield; through the marriage of the latter's daughter in 1680 to George Sitwell, this inventory with a number of other papers relating to the property at Haldworth found its way to Renishaw.

'The Inventory of all the goods, chattels, debts and creditts late of George Eyre of Haldworth in the Chappellrie of Brad-

* The sum of the inventory of Thomas Hurt, head of the Ashbourne family, in 1539, is only £44 4s. 10d. But prices must have doubled in the interval.

† This Rowland, by Will dated 1 September 1624, left £100 to his son George. Hunter (*Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 563) had seen evidence that George Eyre of Haldworth was brother to Adam Eyre of Bradway and brother-in-law of Thomas Eyre of Ridge. In the church of Dronfield the following monumental inscription is or was to be seen: 'Here lies the body of Gervis Eyre, bachelor, 2nd son of Rowland Eyre Esq., who died at Houlgate 8 february 1619, aged 45; to whom Adam Eyre of Bradway his brother erects this monument.' Thomas Eyre of Ridge and Hathersege was third son of Thomas Eyre of Grainfoot. See *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 561-3.

‡ *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 561, 563; 1145. Jane, the second daughter, married firstly Nicholas Shirecliffe, gent.; secondly, Anthony Bury, gent., son of Sir William and brother to the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Thomas Bury.

field and Diocesse of Yorke, gentleman, deceased,' was taken on the first June 1629, by 'John Morewood, gentleman, Christopher Wilson, Robert Barber, and Thomas Morton, yeomen.' Of the appraisers, John Morewood of the Oaks was first cousin to the deceased; Christopher Wilson was of Bromhead; Robert Barber was son of the Vicar of Conisbrough and first-cousin to Robert Hurt; while Thomas Morton was father of the Francis Morton who entered his pedigree and arms at Dugdale's visitation.

The house, of which the contents are described in the inventory, stood upon the site of Green End Farm,* at the top of Haldworth Bank, near the land granted by Lord Furnival to Thomas, son of Roger de Haldworth. In the entrance porch or 'install', a 'greate arke' was placed against the wall on either hand: these pieces of furniture must have been of unusual size and rich in carving to be valued at £2 8s. 8d. the pair. The hall or 'house' was furnished,† like that of which we have been speaking, with a long table upon a frame, two buffet-forms, and eight cushions: the latter were newer, and there was a 'little table' as also a 'long settle' valued at half-a-crown, but the 'livery Cubbord' is worth less than half the 20s. put upon it in the Hurt house. In the 'nooke', probably a recessed fireplace, there were two little chests to serve as seats; the 'carpets' are, of course, coverings of Turkey work for the tables. Mr. and Mrs. Eyre having only one sitting-room followed the older practice of taking their meals in the hall, water having been first poured upon their hands with a pewter ewer and basin placed upon the cupboard in the parlour.‡ In the latter room we find a pair of bed stocks, as indeed was almost universal, for it was used on great occasions as a guest-chamber at night; there are also four chairs, a cup-

* Sold by Sir George Sitwell in 1843.

† <i>Item</i> , eight quishions	xiijs. iiijd.
<i>Item</i> , one large table in the house, & a frame, & two buffett forms	xs.
<i>Item</i> , a livery Cubbord, a box & a little table	xijs.
<i>Item</i> , a large carpett & a little carpett	xiijs. iiijd.
<i>Item</i> , fower chares & three buffits	xs.
<i>Item</i> , one chiste in the nooke, one salt box, & one other litle chiste	iiijjs.
<i>Item</i> , a longe settle	ijs. vjd.
‡ <i>Item</i> , a basin & ewer	vjs. viijd.
<i>Item</i> , one cupbard cloath & a towell	xvs.
<i>Item</i> , three cupbard cloathes more	xs.

board, safe, chest, little table, and 'stand', or wooden vessel for ale. Mr. Eyre helped the long winter evenings through by singing love songs to the accompaniment of a 'Citterne', priced at 13s. 4d. and though books are not mentioned, there must surely have been a few locked up in the cupboard or chest, either included in the inventory with the 'hustlement', or simply ignored as being without market value.

The bedrooms, having solid oak shutters, need no window curtains, but each pair of bed stocks is furnished with a 'pair', i.e. a set, of curtains and valances, to be drawn close for warmth during the hours of slumber. These must have been of silk, needlework, or tapestry, for they are entered at the large sum of £1 to £1 6s. 8d., for the hangings of each bed. The washing basins are of pewter, served with 'water kitts' of wood. The South chamber, occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Eyre, has a 'desk' for writing, two presses, a trunk, chest, chair, and buffet-stool. In the North chamber, we find a press, table, tablecloth, one cushion, a trunk, three chests, three boxes, three chairs, and as many buffet-stools. This was evidently the nursery of the children, Gertrude, Jane, and Mary Eyre, at this time aged two, six, and eight respectively. Mr. Eyre has three hackney saddles, for himself, his wife and manservant; 'one horse and two mares' are valued at £6, as against £3 6s. 8d. for 'one mare and one fole' in the other inventory. The two pair of 'panyers' may perhaps have been for the children. There are also, as at the other house, two pack-saddles, used not only for sending wool to market, but for bringing to the door all sorts of purchases, for, in the conveyance of goods, trains of packhorses were to the men of that day all that the railway is to us.

There is not a piece of glass, china, or earthenware in the house, except three 'earthen pots' in the dairy. Nor, apart from a pair of chopping knives in the kitchen, is there any cutlery. We find, however, a little plate and a very handsome provision of pewter. Mr. Eyre has twelve silver spoons (£3 8s. 0d.) as well as twelve of alchemy and six of pewter; two silver bowls (£6), a pewter flagon and little pot for drinking. The basin and ewer (6s. 8d.) for washing of hands before and after meals, which in the yeomen's houses were usually of

wood and known as 'water kitts', are of the last-named metal; and there is a fine array of pewter 'doublers', greater, lesser, and lesser again; of saucers, pottingers, plates, and salts. But here also some of the dishes, perhaps belonging to the 'milkhouse', are of wood:

<i>Item</i> , four wodden doublers	vjs.
<i>Item</i> , twelve boules	vs.
<i>Item</i> , two butter kitts & two drinke loomes	iijs.
<i>Item</i> , three earthen pots	ijs.
<i>Item</i> , eight dozen of trenchers	iijs. iiijd.
<i>Item</i> , all the rest of the huslement in or about the house	vs.

Mr. Eyre, like the Hurts, farmed his own land, and on a somewhat larger scale, for though the corn in his barn is worth only £11 10s. 0d. in May as against £15 in February at the house with which we were dealing previously, he has six oxen instead of four for ploughing, eleven kine, and four calves, instead of five with six calves. His household was thus almost self-providing; the orchard and garden supplied him with every fruit in season; he ground his own meal, brewed his own ale, salted his own bacon, made his own cheese and butter, and enjoyed the honey slaved for by two hives of bees. A good stock of wheat, salt flesh, oatmeal, malt, flax, hemp, wool, and cloth* were kept in hand. One notices again the high price of coverlets, which is double that of blankets. In both inventories it has been assumed that the four chairs belong to the parlour, though there is nothing to show it, except the consideration that in the sitting-room there must surely have been something besides chests to sit upon. The position of the livery cupboard was always, as the Eyre inventory places it, amongst the furniture of the hall, and upon it when the table was not laid for dinner,

* <i>Item</i> , eightene stone of wooll	xli. xvjs.
<i>Item</i> , fortie fower yeards of linnen cloath	iiijli. xs.
<i>Item</i> , three yeards of coarse cloath	ijs.
<i>Item</i> , twelve yeards of new cloath	xvs.
<i>Item</i> , five stone of hempe yarne	xxxiijs. iiijd.
<i>Item</i> , fourtene pounds of teare of flax	xiijs.
<i>Item</i> , fower yeards & a halfe of Linsee Wolsey	ixs.
<i>Item</i> , seaven yeards of meddled cloath	xiijs.
<i>Item</i> , seaven yeards of white kersey	xxjs.
<i>Item</i> , fower yeards of orange collered cloath	vs. iiijd.
<i>Item</i> , two yeards and a halfe of white cloath	iijs. iiijd.

some of the best pieces of pewter found a resting place. Joane Rotherham of Nottingham in 1635-6 leaves to her son all the household goods in the 'hale-roome' of her house, 'excepte the pewter uppon the cubbard's head', and to her daughter-in-law 'two of the best pewter dishes in the buttrie.'

A still more interesting account of the furniture to be found in the hall or 'firehouse' of one of the smaller houses during the period ranging from 1490 to 1615, is to be found in the Will of Leonard Rotherham of Ridgeway in Eckington, yeoman, dated 20 April 1614 and proved at Lichfield on the 9th April 1615. This is indeed one of those rare and precious documents which fix a type, and, therefore, deserve to be quoted in every history of the English people. The Testator was at least seventy-eight years old when he made this will, for he had succeeded his father in 1537: * he states that the heirlooms in question had belonged to his ancestors, and they will therefore have come down to him from the John Rotherham who is described as 'of Ridgeway' in 1472, having settled there in consequence of his marriage with Agnes, daughter and heir of John Welles. The passage in the Will of 1615 is as follows:

Item, Yt is my will and pleasure that these thinges nexte underwrytten shall continew and remain in my house as herelomes, to the use and behoofe of Thomas Rotherham, my eldeste sonne, and to his sonne Gilbert Rotherham, to his heires for ever, videlicet, the greateste brasse pottle that I now have, a lang settle, a longe forme, a seate or benche, and [to] the latter all painted cloathes hanginge or beinge within the firehouse. Also one bedsted standinge in the nether parlor nexte unto the window, and a greate arke, and a kiennel standinge in the outchamber. All these I will and requier that they remaine as herelomes to my heire, as they were lefte to mee by mine auncestors hearetofore. Also I give and bequeathe unto the afforesaid Gilbert Rotherham my grandchilde one quaffer standinge in the nether parlor to remeine as ane heirlome to mine house. Item, I give and bequeath unto Elzabeth Rotherham, one greate arke standinge at the bedesfoote in the nether chamber.'

To return to the Eyre inventory: Hunter, writing in about 1820, remarks on the simple and uncostly manner in which the halls of country gentlemen were furnished in the first

* See the Will and inventory of Robert Rotherham of Ridgeway. At Lichfield will be found also Wills of Thomas Rotherham of Ridgeway, yeoman, in 1706, and William Rotherham of Ridgeway, 1709. Leonard's mother, Cecily, had married as a second husband George Wigfall of Carter Hall, who died in 1567. Her Will is dated 2 June 1591.

half of the seventeenth century, instancing that of Matthew Wentworth at Bretton in 1635: 'There was not a single article that can properly be said to be of luxury; no books or paintings, not a single piece of plate; but, instead, a long list of plates and dishes of Pewther, and even these are not more numerous than were lately to be seen in the house of a substantial yeoman' (3). This statement at the same time goes too far and not far enough. The writer might have added that many houses were without a vessel of china or glass; that the owners drank beer instead of wine, and ate with their fingers off wooden trenchers; that the rooms were miserably lighted at night with two or three candles in sticks of brass or pewter; that the floors were without carpets, the windows without curtains, the dining halls without chairs.

On the other hand, as is now and again brought home to our minds by some startling fact, as for instance the discovery in London a few years ago of a jeweller's stock in trade belonging to the reign of James I, the few articles of luxury which were to be found in the country houses—the tapestry and painted hangings, the silver, pewter, and the trinkets—such as watches, jewels or armorial seals—for design and workmanship were far beyond anything that can be, or at least is, produced in England at the present day. The people of that time were nearer to the great ages of Gothic art; the tradition of craftsmanship was yet unbroken, they were creators while we are only copyists. In the opinion of those best able to judge, the domestic architecture of 1630-40 was full of new life and promise, and the opening years of Charles's reign were in regard to furniture a period greater even than that of the Restoration. But generally under James I, magnificence in furnishing showed itself only in textiles; it was a time of gorgeous stuffs and inexpensive carpentry, just as the nineteenth century was one of over-elaborated woodwork and tawdry draperies. The carved presses, the old oak cupboards and tables which we now value so highly were then little thought of; indeed, the word 'furniture' usually includes little else than hangings and ornamental stuffs, though 'joyner's woorke, as tables, stooles, bedsteedes' (4), sometimes puts in a shamefaced appearance at the bottom of the list. Thus

in the *Rules for the Government of the House of an Earle*, written about 1624, the chief officers of the household are to be 'skillfull in the buying of household furnitures, as Plate, Hangings, Damaske and Diaper Napery, and Linnen Clothes, Broade cloathes and Frises'. Later on in the same treatise, below the heading 'Household Stuffe and Furniture', we have a note: 'Under this title are to be set downe all billes payde for plate, hangings, bedding, linen, napery, chaires, stooles, etc.'

To return from this digression—Walter Hurt and his wife did not long retain the house and lands surrendered to them in 1546. Having succeeded, as one may naturally suppose, to the freehold messuage upon the death of John Smalbynd, they passed on the copyhold, on the 22nd April 1552, to their son and heir apparent Robert Hurt, then about eight years old, with remainder to Walter their second son, to their own male heirs, and to Dionis their daughter. Richard and Nicholas, the younger brothers of Robert and Walter, must therefore have been born after the date of this surrender, of which a translation is given below:

21 April 1552. 'To this court comes Walter Hurt senior and Alice his wife, daughter and heir of Robert Smallebynde otherwise called Smallbent, the said Alice being separately interrogated and examined by the seneschal of the court, and surrendered into the hands of the lord of the said manor one messuage and two oxgangs of land and meadow held of the lord of the said manor by copy of court roll in Haldesworth within the soke of Bradfield. To the use and behest of Robert Hurt son and heir apparent of the said Walter and Alice and the heirs of his body, and for lack of such issue then to Walter Hurt, younger son of the said Walter and Alice and the heirs of his body, and for lack of such issue then to the right male heirs of the said Walter and Alice for ever, and for lack of such issue to Dionis Hurt, daughter of the said Walter and Alice and the heirs of her body, and for lack of such issue to the right heirs of the said Alice for ever. Which premises are conceded to the said Robert Hurte, to have and hold to himself and the heirs of his body by the service of the manor. And for lack of such issue, then the said messuage two oxgangs of land and meadow with their appurtenances shall remain and revert according to the form aforesaid. And he gives the lord as a fine for ingress, xiiis. (5).'

Being bound by his tenure to military service, that is to say as documents of Henry the Eighth's time express it, 'to find a man and horse armed for the service of the said Earl,

when the King shall require' (6), Walter must have been, like his grandson, one of the 'trayned soldiers for Hallamshire'. * He may then have taken part in the wars of Scotland or France in 1545, in the campaign two years later which ended in Somerset's great victory over the Scots at Pinkie, or in the pillage of St. Quentin by an English army in 1557. It is certain that Lord Shrewsbury was called upon to furnish levies for some of these expeditions, as well as for the almost ceaseless skirmishing which went on year by year in the neighbourhood of Calais and Guisnes. The history of Hallamshire during all this period is singularly devoid of incident. In 1536, the year of the Pilgrimage of Grace, Lord Shrewsbury had raised an army without waiting for the royal commands, and marching to meet the insurgents at Doncaster, with the assistance of the Duke of Norfolk had dispersed them without a battle. But from that year until 1571, when Mary Queen of Scots first came to her captivity at Sheffield Castle, the only great events of local history were the pageants which marked the births, marriages, and deaths of its lords. Francis Earl of Shrewsbury kept great state at the manor and castle, the children of the leading families in Derbyshire and South Yorkshire being sent to his house as if to an academy, to receive with his own sons and daughters their training in sport and arms, in courtesy and book-learning. One of the number was Sir Thomas Cockaine, author of a treatise on hunting, who must have taken part in many sporting expeditions in the Earl's chases of Fulwood, Rivelin, and Loxley. Another inmate of Sheffield Castle about this time was Thomas Howell the poet, whose little volume of amatory verses, published in 1568, had upon the title-page a woodcut of a Talbot dog, with lines alluding to the unspotted loyalty of his patron's house:

The Talbot true that is
And still hath so remaynde,
Lost never noblenesse

* In the year after the Armada, the second Walter Hurt appeared amongst the 'Corsletts' before George, Earl of Shrewsbury, as one of the 'trayned soldiers for Hallamshire', of whom twelve were from Bradfield, seven from Ecclesfield, and only eight from Sheffield: forty-eight years later, his name is again included in a list of those from whom the service is due. Eastwood's *Ecclesfield*, pp. 26, 466.

By sprincke of spot distaynde :
On such a fixed fayth
This trustie Talbot stayth.

The Reformation in Hallamshire as elsewhere moved but slowly, bringing about a gradual change of feeling and outlook rather than any sudden break with the older faith and doctrine. Henry VIII, up to the day of his death in January 1546/7, continued to hold most of the distinguishing tenets of the Roman Church. His will begins, 'In the name of God, and of the glorious and blessed Virgin, our Lady St. Mary and of all the holy company of Heaven;' instantly requires and desires the blessed Virgin, with all the whole company of Heaven 'continually to pray for him while he lives in the world, and in the time of passing out of the same;' provides also (with other masses, diriges and obits) for daily masses to be said in the College of Windsor 'perpetually, while the world shall endure'. A few months after his death Somerset issued a general injunction for the purification of churches; the frescoes which covered the walls were daubed over with whitewash, the images of saints were pulled down, and sacred pictures upon wood or glass were ordered to be removed. The writer of the Grey Friars' Chronicle states that 'at that same time was pullyd downe thorow all the Kynges domynyon in every church, alle Roddes (Roods) with alle images;' that every preacher preached against images, and there was much speaking against the sacrament of the altar, some calling it 'Jacke of the boxe', with other shameful names.

Under 'Bloody Mary' the roods and images found their way back to the churches. Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury, though willing to accept grants of Abbey lands under Henry VIII and Edward VI, was not cordially in agreement with the early religious measures of Elizabeth, and in March 1559, voted against the Bill for restoring to the Sovereign supremacy over the English Church. At Sheffield, Wills of November 1560 still contain bequests to a priest to pray for the testator's soul. In the church of Ecclesfield the Sepulchre house continued to be provided with lighted candles, and it was not until the critical year 1569 that a Communion Table was bought, that the Passion clothes were

sold, and workmen were paid to uproot the rood loft and the crosses.

A few families retained the ancient faith, not always un-mixed with superstition. In 1573 a person named Avery Keller confessed to Lord Shrewsbury 'that he was a dealer with the conjurers, and that he brought certain books of that art unto John Revell, which the conjuring scholars named Palmer and Falconer, and Skinner the priest, did occupy in their practice at the said Revel's house.' Their conjuring was for 'divers causes'; to discover hid money, for helping one diseased, for knowing some secret place to hide them, and to have certain knowledge also touching the state of the realm (7). The house at which these practices took place is supposed by Leader to have been Revell Grange, but there was no John Revell of Revell Grange living at the date named, and the person referred to will be John Revell of Smallfield in Bradfield, father of the John whose daughter and coheir was afterwards wife of the second Walter Hurt of Haldworth.

In October 1560, Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury died, and amongst the Hallamshire tenants, two hundred or more in number, who followed the body to the grave, Walter Hurt as living within a convenient distance is certain to have been included. In preparation for the ceremony the parish church was hung throughout with black cloth garnished with escutcheons, and in the centre of the choir was placed a hearse twelve feet square, having under a rounded canopy supported by pillars covered with black velvet, a frieze or valance of the same material, inscribed in letters of gold with the words: *Sic transit gloria mundi*. Upon the roof, the pillars, and every part of the hearse, were escutcheons displaying the Earl's arms within the Garter. The castle also was draped in mourning. The Earl's father had added to the ancient fabric new buildings which might serve for great entertainments and be a lasting testimony to his dignity and power—a noble hall with open timber roof and dais steps of stone, a great stairway leading up to a stately dining chamber on the first floor. These rooms were prepared in like manner. First the porch going into the hall and the hall also were hanged with black cloth and garnished with scutcheons of arms; then the way

from the hall to the great chamber. In the latter room, which was covered from floor to ceiling with cloth of the same colour having upon it scutcheons of buckram in metal, for a day and night before the funeral the corpse lay in state with candles round it under a pall of cloth of gold.

On the day of the burial the town for once was silent, the busy hammers of the handicraftsmen having ceased to beat. A vast assemblage had gathered together to see the pageant; the inns in Prior Gate were filled with country gentry who had come to take part in the procession, and the great open space known as the Green in front of the Castle gates was crowded with spectators, amongst whom were thousands of beggars and necessitous poor attracted by the prospect of a dole in food and money. The momentous change from the Mass to the reformed service of Geneva had been made in the previous year,* but though the funeral procession was without cross or candle, though psalms, prayers, and gospel were in English, the order observed at earlier obsequies of the lords of Hallamshire was repeated in almost every particular, the 'singing to the ground' of the body, the dole to the poor, the offering of weapons and money at the altar, having been customary from mediæval times. Led by conductors with black staves and preceded, first by a number of poor men in mourning gowns and hoods, then by the choir singing in their surplices, the procession moved off from the castle gates in the street known as the Fold, and so passed by the Beast Market and up Prior's Row to the parish church. A long array of gentlemen, chaplains, esquires, and officers of the household followed, walking two and two. Lord Shrewsbury's banner, helm, sword, target, and coat-of-arms, were borne by heralds in black gowns with hoods on their heads; in the place formerly occupied by 'avo wries'—copper vanes painted with figures of the saints—came four banners with impalements, two before the corpse and two behind; then the new Earl as chief mourner, his train borne by a gentleman usher; after him the other mourners and a large

* 'The xii day of May (1559) be-gane the Englys service in the quen's chapel.' 'The ... day of September be-gane the nuw mornyng prayer at sant Antholyn's in Boge-row, after Geneva fassyon.' *Machyn's Diary*.

body of tenantry in black coats, walking two and two. The church was entered by the west door, the corpse was set in its place with a hatchment upon it, the standard and banner being held by bearers at head and foot. When all things were in order and every man in his place, Chester herald pronounced the state of the deceased:

‘Laud and praise be given to Almighty God, for that it hath pleased him of his infinite goodness to call out of this transitory life unto his eternal glory, the high, noble and puissant Francis late Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Talbot, Furnival, Verdon, and Strange of Blackmore; Knight and Companion of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lord President of the Council of the North, and Justice of all the forests and chases from the Trent northwards.’

The service commenced. A psalm was sung in English. The priest began the Communion and read the epistle and gospel. Then the offertory was taken, while the choir sang another psalm in prick-song. The coat-of-arms, sword, target, helm and crest, were delivered by the priest to Garter, who laid them by, and every one present in order of precedence made an offering of money for the pious use of the priest and the good estate of the soul of the deceased. The sermon was delivered and ‘proceeded to the end’. The minister and choir came down to the hearse, and after certain prayers said the bearers taking up the coffin laid it in the vault of the sepulchral chapel. Then the officers of the household, the gentlemen ushers as also the porters, broke their staves, and all departed to the castle.

‘At the castle was prepared a great dinner, that is to say there were served from the dressors (besides my lord’s services from his own board, which were three messes of meat) CCCXX. mess, to all manner of people who seemed honest; having to every mess eight dishes, that is to say, two boyled, four roast, and two baked meats, whereof one was venison. For these was killed for the same feast fifty does and twenty-nine red deere. And after dinner the reversion of all the said meate was given to the poore with dole of two pence a piece; with bread and drink great plenty.’

The venison was only an eighth part of the meat provided, and if each of the messes referred to was for four persons, the number entertained was 1,280.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSE: LATER HISTORY

‘WALTER HURTE, senior,’ was buried at Bradfield on the 5th February 1560/1. In the following autumn his widow married again, taking as her second husband Richard Senior of Middle Combes or Colmes, in the same chapelry and parish. She was then between thirty-five and forty years of age; her youngest son, Nicholas, with whose descendants we are principally concerned, was still a babe in arms; Walter, her second son, had been born about 1547,* Dionis her daughter before April 1552; Richard and another son named Thomas† must have been older than Nicholas. The marriage is indicated by an original Memorandum in the collection of Dr. Sykes of Doncaster, of which the late Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty kindly provided the writer with a copy:

‘M. y^t Rychard Seneor hath receuyd and in hys kepyng xj peace of Evedence of Nycolas Hurt the day of the maryage of hys mother, in the presens of Nycolas Byrley, Ryc. Grevys, Henry Hawkesworth; also the same Ryc. hath receuyd and in his keyping vj peace of Evedence & one charter dede from the lorde Thomas ffurnevall, in y^e presence of y^e for named Nycolas, Ryc. and Henry.

Heyre lomes pertenyng & belongynge unto Robert hurte son & heyre of Walter Hurt deceased, Remeynyne in the hands & custodye of Ryc. Senyor. *Imprimis*, the best pan, w^{ch} came from Tyddyswall. *Item*, the best maysser & counter, y^e best chare. *Item*, one bed as y^t came from Rotherham Colage. *Item*, a gret Arke in y^e ower chamber & a wortstone.

Richarde Senyor.

The date of this Memorandum must be after the death of Walter Hurt, but before the marriage of his eldest son in November 1564. We are able fortunately to fix the year as 1561, for ‘Alyce, wyfe of Rychard Senior’ was buried at Bradfield on the last day of February 1580, and as Rychard

* He is party to a deed dated 14 January 1568-9. B.M. Addit. MS. 24467, fo. 96.

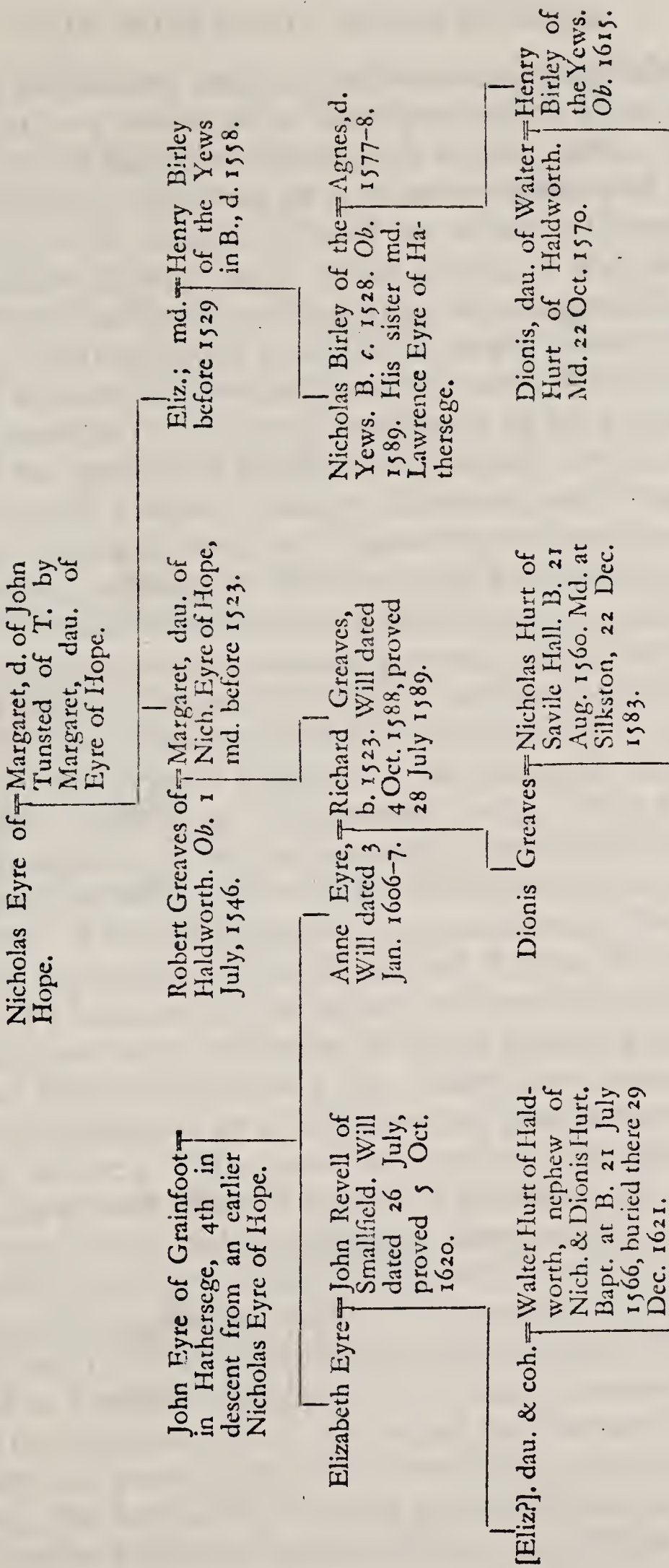
† In the Ecclesfield register among the burials we have: ‘March 8, 1590-1, Thomas Hurt; 27 January, 1591-2, *uxor* Tho. Hurt’.

son of Rychard Senior was baptized in June 1562, we may presume that the marriage took place in the previous summer or autumn. The names of the witnesses to the Memorandum, who were evidently present at the wedding and are acting as the children's nearest relatives in a family arrangement, indicate that it was signed as Haldworth. Nicolas Byrley was of the Yews, the head of an old Bradfield family (1); his eldest son subsequently married Dionis Hurt. Richard Greaves, of Morewood in Bradfield, was sixth in descent from William Greaves, living 1418. He had been a witness to the Will of Henry Byrley, father of Nicolas, in 1551; two of his sons married into the family of Revell, and his daughter Dionis, was afterwards the wife of Nicolas Hurt, mentioned in the Memorandum (2). Henry Hawkesworth may be the son and heir of that Nicolas Hawkesworth, yeoman, of Halame in the parish of Sheffield, to whom by deed bearing date 25 April 1544, 'Robert Swyft, *Junior*, dele Browme hawlle in the parish of Sheffield, gentleman,' gave a messuage with all edifices, ten acres of land, six of meadow, eight of pasture, two of wood, in 'Haldsworthe banks by Lokslay in the soke of Bradfelde'. On the other hand, he may be the Henry, son of Robert Hawkesworth of Sugworth, who married before 1558 Joan, the heiress of a younger branch of the Mortons, and this latter identification is favoured by the appearance of Thomas Morton as attorney for the Smalbynds in the surrender of 1545/6, of Robert Hawkesworth and John Morton as supervisors for the Will of John Senyor (father of Richard) in 1549, of Henry Hawkesworth of Sugworth as arbitrator for Richard Greaves of Haldworth in 1576.* An abstract of Robert's Will is given by Hunter (4).

Nicholas Hurt was at this time a baby of a year old, and the 'xj peace of Evedence' will represent some small provision of landed property made for him by his father; the six pieces and the charter from Lord Furnival are probably the title deeds of Haldworth, which had now passed to Robert Hurt as son and heir. Several interesting points are raised by

* 3 April 1558. Henry Hawkesworth and Joan his wife seek to be admitted to land called Gibsonfield in Bradfield, Joan being daughter and heir of John Morton, son of Philip, cousin and heir of John, son of Thurstan son of John Morton. See also *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 671.

IV. THE BIRLEYS, GREAVES, AND REVELLS



the list of heirlooms, and it discloses one remarkable fact, namely that in a house of so little pretension there should have been more than one 'counter' or writing-table. In 1582 Lord Shrewsbury had but two to serve castle and manor, while amongst the household stuff set aside for Queen Mary and her followers not one is to be found. It was to Archbishop Rotherham, to the educational advantages offered by his College, that so many Ecclesfield people owed their rise in life, and we have here yet another indication of the influence for good exercised in the neighbourhood by his foundation. Amongst the group of families with which we have been concerned—the Greaves, Birleys, Mortons, and Hurts, education was keenly desired, as is shown by the mention (5) of Henry Burley, scholar, of Waddesley in Ecclesfield in 1475, and the Will of Robert Greaves of Haldworth in 1546, whereby the latter devises his leasehold property in Hallamshire to his son William, 'towards his exhibicion and keping hyme at the scooll.' Such training was not universal in the district, nor was it considered a disgrace to be untaught, for in 1606 Christopher Wilson of Broomhead, being then fifty-one years old, makes a cross for his mark, deposing that he can neither read nor write. But with the Wilsons this was certainly exceptional. Richard Wilson in 1530 makes the lord Prior of Burton supervisor of his Will, and Arthur Wilson who died in 1557 was one of the officers of Lord Shrewsbury.

We will now turn to the list of 'heyre lomes' which completes the Memorandum of 1561. Heirlooms cannot be instituted nor alienated by a Will, for they pass at the moment of death, before a Will comes into action, and though it is possible to devise chattels *to pass as heirlooms*, the effect of such a provision is only temporary, these articles becoming the absolute property of the first tenant in tail. The proper definition of an heirloom is that it is 'a personal chattel which goes by force of a special custom to the next heir'; traces may be found in Yorkshire as elsewhere of such a custom, giving the heir not only his ancestor's sword and hauberk, but the best chattel of every kind—'the best horse, the best ox, the best chair, the best table, the best pan and the best pot' (5). In the district known as Irchinfield, between Hereford and

Monmouth, where the oldest local codes show a curious mixture of Welsh and English customs, the house and lands were divided between the sons on the death of their father. But there is this difference, says the ancient record of their laws (6), that certain *principals*, as they call them, pass to the eldest as heirlooms, and are not subject to partition; such as the best bed and furniture, the best table and the like; all which the men of Archenfield retain as derived to them from great antiquity even before the Norman Conquest. So also by the custom of the Hundred of Stretford in (7) Oxfordshire the eldest son was entitled to keep for his 'principals' the best article of every kind of chattel, as the best wagon and plough, the best table and chair, the best of the chests and cups and platters. A right of the same kind was very common in France, where the benefit of the eldest was known as the *Préciput*.

This custom became confused and obscured in process of time—perhaps by gradual degrees, for in Wills the mention of heirlooms in order to identify the objects and to avoid disputes would be likely to lead presently to addition, substitution, or variation—and from the fourteenth century onwards instances can be found of heirlooms appointed by bequest. Thus in 1551 Henry Birley, father of the Nicholas above mentioned, gives and bequeaths to his son 'for his heyrlomes' the best brass pot, pan, ark, the sideboard, harness, and a horse of forty shillings price. It may be, then, that Walter Hurt left a Will behind him, though no such Will can now be found, and this supposition is strengthened by the handing over of certain title deeds to his infant son, representing property which must in law have passed either by deed of gift or as a legacy. To his eldest son, Robert, the articles mentioned in the list are stated to have come, not as grandson and heir of Robert Smalbynd, but as 'son & heyre of Walter Hurt', who must therefore have owned the furniture in the house. The list does not affect to comprise all heirlooms, but only those which remained in the custody of Richard Senior, who with his wife occupied Haldworth until 1564, when Robert came to reside there upon his marriage. There may have been others also, indeed it seems likely

enough that Walter's best horse, saddle and bridle, his headpiece, cuirass and sword had already been handed over to his son. The owner of the Haldworth freehold was bound by tenure to provide a man and horse armed for military service; in January 1588/9 we find Robert's son attending the muster at Sheffield Castle as one of the 'Cōrsletts', and these we know were equipped with 'Gorget, Cuirass [consisting of a breastplate with tassets and backplate], Headpiece, Sword, Girdle and Hangers'.* Such armour Walter himself must have possessed, and it is very improbable that it would be alienated at his death. The articles of furniture enumerated represent a choice of the best; the pan, perhaps the mazers also, come from Walter's old home; the bed has been bought at Rotherham; the other pieces would hardly be moved from a town fifteen miles away; they have been made by some local carpenter in 1543, when the copyhold house was furnished for Walter's marriage. We may now deal in detail with the articles mentioned in the list, taking them successively in the order given:

'Imprimis, *the best pan, which came from Tyddyswall*'. This statement seems to indicate, as has already been pointed out, that Walter's early home was at Tideswell in the Peak. Later in the list we have a 'bed, as y^t came from Rotherham Colage'. It is merely a coincidence that Robert Pursglove, the seventh and last Provost of the College (dissolved in 1550) had been born and bred at Tideswell, to which town he retired in his old age (8). If this pan had been bought with the bed at a sale of Pursglove's effects at Rotherham in 1550, the list would have stated—'which came from Rotherham College',—not 'which came from Tyddyswall'; and indeed Pursglove did not move to Rotherham from Tideswell, but from Gisburne, where he had held the position of Prior.

'Item, *the best maysser*'. Mazers (9)—the word is akin to our 'measles'—were cups or low bowls cut out of maple-knot, so as to show the beautiful spotted grain. Before the sixteenth century opened they had passed out of fashion; Cripps had met with only one later than the reign of

* Eastwood, pp. 26, 28. See also plates 114 and 131 in Hewitt's *Ancient Arms and Armour*.

Henry VIII, and Sir William St. John Hope could find only ten instances between 1500 and 1563 of mazers being mentioned in Wills or inventories. These vessels now command enormous prices; a mazer of 1527 having been sold in 1900 for £500, and one of 1534 in 1908 for £2,300. Having gone out of common use, mazers may have been employed at the later date only for drinking wine at Christmas and on great occasions, such as weddings, christenings, funerals, and gatherings called for the execution and attestation of charters. When mentioned, they often pass as heirlooms, having been handed down in a family from early times. Those at Haldworth may perhaps have come from Tideswell packed inside the 'best pan'.

'Item, *the best counter*'. A counter was a table for counting money as well as for writing, and must therefore originally have had a flat and not a sloping top; they are often met with in late Elizabethan inventories, and it is strange that writers on old English furniture have nothing to say about them. Margaret Paston writes to her husband in 1453, about a certain chamber 'ther as ye wold your cofors and cowntewery shuld be sette for the whyle', that 'ther is no space besyde the bedd for to sette both your bord and your Kofors there'. A Will of 1493 leaves 'to Kateryn my wyff my countour standyng in my parlour', and another of 1521 bequeathes '*unum magnum cowntier stans in aula*'. Richard Wilson (younger brother of John Wilson of Bromhead) in his Will dated 15 June 1530, mentions his 'counter of oversea work'. Richard Greve of Eckington, by Will dated 31 August 1562, gives to his son a 'folding cownter'; Ralph Wadsworth of Mattersey Thorpe, Nottinghamshire, in 1588/9 a 'Flaunders counter'. Inlaid chests came over in great numbers from Flanders, and counters also must have been rather elaborate pieces of furniture to be worth importing. These entries suggest that the article of Elizabethan furniture referred to had several forms, one being a small table with folding leaves and a drawer or cupboard below, such as that illustrated in figure '44' of Macquoid's book.

'Item, *the best chare*'. Chairs in early times were not for general use, but were personal possessions of the master and

mistress of a house, though one or two might also be provided for guests. No sets of chairs were made in England before the close of the sixteenth century.

'Item, *one bed as yt came from Rotherham Colage*'. This evidently comes in as the best bed, and we cannot infer with any certainty that Walter's son had used it when being educated at the College. If scholars were boarded at the College, of which there is no evidence, they would probably buy light beds in the town and sell them again upon leaving. The College was dissolved in 1550 (though the school continued in existence), and a sale there either at that date or perhaps some years earlier would have offered to any one who was setting-up house an opportunity of buying well-made furniture. On the other hand it should be pointed out that the bed from Rotherham cannot be the 'sealed bed steed' of the 1622 inventory, which would be too unwieldy to move a long distance by road; more probably it is the low bedstead in the parlour, valuable at the earlier date because of its hangings, and these hangings when the bed was removed from the College may have been supplied by Richard Senior, who was interested in the cloth trade at Rotherham.

'Item, *a gret Arke in the ower chamber*', standing no doubt at the foot of the panelled bed. This was the treasure chest of the house, used for locking up linen and articles of price, such as money and rings, spoons, girdles, hooks, buckles, or brooches of silver;* here also were preserved the 'Evidence' or title-deeds which by a Will of 1620 Robert Hurt of Haldworth bequeathed to his eldest son. Arks, as the derivation of the word (*arcana*) indicates, were intended for secure custody of valuables. William Rotherham of Eckington, in his Will of 1542 leaves to his son Christopher 'an Arke to kep his evydence yn'; in other Wills we find them used for storing apparel, linen or meal. Randle Holme, in his *Armoury* of 1688, says that the '*Arke or safe is a kind of little house made of wood and covered with haire cloth, and so by two rings hung in the middle of a rome, thereby to secure all things put therein from the cruelty of devouring Rats, Mice, etc.*' It may be inferred from this definition that before 1688 the larger arks had gone out

* Compare *Social England*, vol. ii, p. 571.

of fashion, and that the word had lost its original meaning. Arks and chests often occur together in old inventories, usually in such a way as to show that they were not quite the same thing; but what the difference was, whether the ark, as suggested by Holme's comparison of it to a 'little house' and by remembrance of the toy ark of one's childhood, had a ridged or rounded top or was pierced with holes for ventilation, is quite unknown. Foley in his *Book of Decorative Furniture* * says that the ark was 'usually mounted on short legs, and with a lid or cover of an arched shape'.

'Item, a wortstone.' Wort is the saccharine extract obtained by mashing malt for the purpose of brewing beer. In the inventory of Anthony Marryat of Rawmarsh, 1599, we find with other appliances for brewing: 'Item, one mashinge tubbe, a worte stone, a gatheringe tubbe,' &c. Here a wort stone is one used for mashing wort in a wooden tub. But if we were to give the same meaning to the word in the list of heirlooms, we should have to assume, (first) that the stone had something remarkable about it, (secondly) that all the heirlooms were bequeathed by Will, for such an article could not pass by custom. Amongst the appliances for brewing at Sheffield Manor in 1582, we find 'a worte troughe of stone'. It seems possible then, that in the list of 1561 a wort stone is a hard-stone basin for mashing malt, and that it finds a place there as the best pot. The mention of it shows the pride that was felt in the home-brewed ale of Haldworth.

Richard Senior, Mrs. Hurt's second husband, had an estate at Middle Colmes † in the chapelry of Bradfield, and appears to have been a prosperous clothier, or cloth-manufacturer.‡ He describes himself as 'of Middle Colmes' in a

* Vol ii, p. 387.

† Now known as the Cooms or Coumbes, the word 'coomb' meaning a deep cleft or hollow. It is in Westnal, one of the divisions of Bradfield, close to Onesacre, not far from Oughtibridge and Brightholmley. See Eastwood's *Ecclesfield*, p. 455, and Hunter's *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 654. Part of the house is old, and it commands beautiful views over Wharnccliffe Chase, which covers the opposite hillside. Near by is the many-gabled house at Onesacre, built by the Steades in 1650 or later upon the site of their older residence. Thomas, son of Nicholas Stead of Onesacre married Elizabeth Senior, granddaughter of Alice Smallbent, circa 1603, and about the same date Reginald Hurt, grandson of the same Alice, married Anne, daughter and coheir of Richard Stead.

‡ According to Westcote (*View of Devonshire*, 1603, p. 61) the farmers sold wool to the spinners, who sold yarn to the weavers, who sold cloth to the clothiers. It

deed of 14 January 1568/9 (10), as also in others executed between that time and 1589, but in an undated instrument of about the last-named year is said to be 'of Rotherham', and it seems possible that he had throughout the period a second residence in that town. He was in 1560/1 a widower with an only son named William, who about 1588 took to wife Joan, daughter of Henry Dand of Nottingham.* By his second marriage with Alice Smalbent in 1561, Richard had two younger sons, named Robert and Richard. The latter succeeded him at Middle Combes and left three daughters and coheirs, of whom the eldest in about the year 1603 became the wife of Thomas Steade (11), son and heir of Nicholas Steade of Onesacre. These Steades were descendants of Peter de la Stede the franklin of 1379, and ancestors of the Steads of Beauchief Abbey. Whether the Seniors of Dodworth in the parish of Silkston, one of whom was a disclaimer at Dugdale's Visitation, and the Anthony Senior of Cowley, gentleman, who in 1646 married the heiress of the Columbells of Darley, were of the same stock there is nothing to show.

A pedigree of the Seniors of Colmes is given in the Appendix. They occur very early in connexion with Bradfield and Haldworth, having been infeoffed at Worrall in that chapelry by the De Wadsleys, and having removed to the Cumbe, close to Worrall, about the year 1356. In 1312, Robert de Wadsley grants to Robert Senier of Wortley and the heirs of his body, lands in Wadsley and near Bradfield (12). In 1356, Robert son of John le Seigneur has lands in Worrall in the lordship of Wadsley from John del Grene. In 1364, John le Bogbor quit-claims all his right in his messuages, lands, &c., in Worrall, and in the same year William le Sengneur, chaplain, releases to Thomas Bullock 'all lands in which

would seem then that in southern England the work of the clothiers was confined to shearing, pressing, and dyeing the cloth; in Yorkshire they may also have woven it. Much money was made in this trade by the yeomanry before 1555, when at the request of the weavers and artificers, an Act was passed directing that no clothier living out of a city, burgh, or market-town, should keep more than two looms, nor more than two apprentices.

* B.M. Addit. MS. 24467, fo. 96, no. 144. See also xxxii. Henry Dand of Nottingham, bell-founder, brother to Rowland Dand of Mansfield-Woodhouse, gent., is a trustee of the marriage-settlement. Rowland's grandson and namesake was Sheriff of Nottinghamshire in 1662, and married Margaret, daughter of Henry Savile of Copley by Anne, sister and heir of John Lord Darcy. *Fam. Min. Gent.* 1003.

I have been infeoffed by Robert my carnal brother'. In 1369/70, William North and John del Combe give to John le Sengneur and Matilda his wife all the lands which were formerly William del Grene's of Worrall, in the Cumbe, between the way leading from Oughtibridge to the chapel of Bradfield. By a charter in the writer's possession dated 'at Haldesworth' in 1379, John Reynald, chaplain, Thomas Frereson of Worrall and Robert Seyngnor of the same, convey to Agnes widow of John Ryvell all the lands which they hold in Haldesworth by the gift and feoffment of her late husband. In 1436/7, Edmund de Wadsley grants to Richard Seigneur all land in le Coumbes formerly in the tenure of Richard de Birton. In 1529/30, 'Richard Seignour de le Coumbe *juxta* Worall' makes a charter to John Seignour, his elder son. (13)

The last-named John by charter dated 8 May 1548 leases for twenty-one years to Henry Byrley of Worrall and John Senyer of Cowm, a close of land called Arnaulde Felde with a croft lying at Worrall. By his Will of 18 November 1549 he leaves the leasehold tenement called Tagetones to be occupied by his wife Janett and his children conjointly, with remainder upon the death or remarriage of his said wife to his son Richard Senyor. To Richard, who is to enter upon his lands, he gives also a counter with two pairs of bedstocks; 'to Richard Senyer and Robert Senyer my childer, all my loomes, sheres, and tentours, with all other gere perteynyng to my occupation to be equallie divided betwixt them.' John Senyer, Robert Hawkesworth and John Morton are appointed supervisors.

Robert Hurt, Mrs. Hurt's eldest son, was about 15 years of age at the time of her second marriage. Amongst the heirlooms belonging to him, as we have already noted, was 'one bed as y^t came from Rotherham Colage', and it is not unlikely that the college had been the place of his education. On the 12th November 1564, when little more than 18, he was married at Ecclesfield to Anne, daughter of Roger Barber* of Wadsley in Ecclesfield, and sister to Sir Robert

* See the pedigree in the Appendix. Roger Barber's Will dated 1 October 1580, contains the following bequests: 'Also I geve unto Robert Hurte my son in lawe, **xxs.** of and for the reste of his child's porcion of my goodes; *Item*, I geve unto Sir Roberte Barbar my sone *vir. viiij*d.** for the reste of his childe's porcion of my goodes.'

Barber, Vicar of Coningsborough. Anne's eldest brother, Edward Barber of Wadsley, married a sister of the Gregory Revell of Stannington whose pedigree is given by Hunter, and another brother took his wife from the same family. There was thus a connexion with the Burtons of Dronfield, the Poles of Spinkhill, Mores of Barnborough, and Wests of Aughton (14).

In October 1570 Mrs. Hurt's only daughter, Dionis, married Henry Birley of the Yews,* son and heir of the Nicolas Birley who figures in the Memorandum of 1562. This Henry was of the same family as Henry de Birley the franklin of 1379, and was tenth in descent from the William to whom in 1317 Sir Thomas de Furnival, lord of Hallamshire, gave all the land which Robert de Midhope had held in the territory of Bradfield. A pedigree is given in the Appendix. Henry's grandmother was a daughter of Nicholas Eyre of Hope (15). He and Dionis had a son, Nicholas Birley, of the Yews, who married a daughter of Anthony Bright of Dore, nephew or grand-nephew of the Ellen Bright who was an ancestress of the Sitwells.

Robert Hurt did not inherit all the freehold and copyhold estate of his father, as there were three younger children to be provided for. On the 23rd March 1611, being then aged about sixty-six, in consideration of certain covenants declared in a pair of indentures dated two days previous, he surrendered the closes in Haldworth called the Ashlands, Alabutts, Whitefeild, ffarrfeild, Bromefeild, Heathfeild, to Walter his son and heir, then aged forty-five. All these closes formed part of the two oxgangs passed by the surrender of 1545/6, and lie adjacent to the house now known as Haldworth Hall. He died just after Christmas 1621, and was buried at Bradfield on the 29th December, leaving a daughter Mary, who in 1608 had become the wife of Edward Bright of Dore,† two younger sons named Reginald and Nicholas

* 'Upon a stone next Mr. Morewood's in the north side the quire [at Bradfield] is a stone with this inscription:—*Ewes. Henry Birley, 1561. Henry Birley, 1610.*' Ronksley MSS. 6837.

† They were married at Dronfield on the 9th June. William Bright of Dore in his Will of 1558, mentions his sons, John, William, and Edward: the testator may probably have been a youngerson of Thomas Bright of Whirlow Hall, for Richard Bright, Vicar of Norton, in his Will of 1578 speaks of his 'cousins' John Bright of Dore and

Hurt (of whom the former married Anne, daughter and co-heir of Richard Steade, the latter was the husband of Elizabeth, daughter of John Creswick and granddaughter of Thomas Creswick of Owlerton Hall, lord of that manor),* and an eldest son, Walter Hurt, who succeeded him. By Will dated 17 May 1620 he left the residue of his personal estate to be divided amongst his younger children, Reginald, Nicholas, and Mary, the share of the last named being increased by a legacy of £5. There is a bequest of twenty shillings to his brother Nicholas, and 13s. 4d. were to be distributed amongst the poor of Bradfield, no doubt in penny doles at his funeral, according to the custom of the time. His 'jacke steele cap and evidence' were to pass to Walter Hurt, the son and heir.

It is this second Walter Hurt of Haldworth with whose inventory of furniture and household goods we dealt with at length in Chapter III. He was baptized at Bradfield on the 21st July 1565, and married Elizabeth daughter and coheir of John Revell † of Smallfield in Bradfield by Elizabeth daughter of John Eyre of Grainfoot. He seems eventually to have become involved in financial difficulties and in September 1633, being then 67 years of age, sold the three copyhold closes called le Cotefeild, le Broomefeild, and Heathfeild with the appurtenances in Haldworth to his cousins, the two Edward Adamsons, father and son.‡

The copyhold house, though not directly mentioned, probably stood in the Cotefeild, and here Edward Adamson resided until the death of his uncle George Adamson in 1644

John Bright of Whirlow. Edward, the youngest son, married before 1560, and was buried at Dronfield, 1 August 1587. Edward, his son, the husband of Mary Hurt, was baptized there 8 March 1573, and buried 23 June 1622. Their son George was baptized, 15 April 1610. See B.M. Addit. MS. 24570, and the Dronfield Register.

* Pedigrees of Steade and Creswick will be found in the Appendix.

† John Revell by his Will dated 26 July and proved at York 5 October 1620, gives xxiis. in gold to his son Walter Hart, to Robert Hart his grandchild his switcher and dagger, and to the said Robert and his sisters, children of Walter Hart, a sixth part of his goods. Though the surname is rendered as Hart, there does not seem to be any doubt that the Haldworth family are the persons referred to.

‡ See Hunter's note of the agreement for the copyhold in Addit. MS. 24467, fo. 84, no. xix, and *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 661. In his Will of 1639, Edward Adamson of Haldworth leaves to his grandson, Edward, 'my coffer, and one sealed bed in the West chamber and my pte. of Armour, with the jacke and bille therunto belonging.' To every servant dwelling with him he gave one ewe sheep. The house referred to is that now known as 'The Bank'.

or later. Hunter in his pedigree of that family makes this Edward, who married in 1641, 'of Haldworth in the chapelry of Bradfield, which he and his father bought of Walter Hurt and Robert his son, 1633.' Later surrenders by the Adamsons in February 1685/6, and January 1701/2, include with the closes 'all structures erected upon them', 'all houses, edifices, etc.' It would seem then that the existing house, first mentioned under the name of Haldworth Hall in April 1721, was built on the old site about the year 1702 by the Edward Adamson of Edensor who died in June 1721.

Walter died in December 1650, aged 84, and was succeeded by a grandson of the same name. The latter, at some date before 1684, sold the old family home, then known as 'Hurt House', to John Ibbotson of Bradfield, with whose daughter it came, as already related, to Thomas Statham, father of Sir John Statham. This 'Walter Hurt, formerly of Haldworth', was buried at Bradfield 17 January 1719/20, being the last of his race who resided in that chapelry or parish. The Ecclesfield branch, descended from Nicholas, a younger brother of Walter, had removed a little earlier* to the property at Brampton-le-Morthing which had come to Robert, son of Nicholas, in marriage with the daughter and heir of Robert Warter; and in Dr. Gatty's time there were none of the name either in Ecclesfield or Bradfield.

With the third Walter, who alienated the Haldworth property, this account of the main line of the family must end. But it should be pointed out that to the writer's ancestors, descended from a younger branch, Ecclesfield was long known as their native parish and the little Tudor house with its heavy oak furniture as their original home. Nicholas Hurt of Savile Hall in Elizabeth's reign is remembered even to 1620, the year of his death, in the Wills of his relatives at Haldworth; his wife was nearly related to Richard Lord, Vicar of Ecclesfield, whose daughter had married Mrs. Hurt's eldest brother, John Skyres. Nicholas Hurt of the Ickles, son of the last-named Nicholas, makes supervisor of his Will

* On the 2nd February 1682, Thomas Hurt sold Woodseats House in Ecclesfield to John Beate of Burncrosse. A Francis Hurt is one of the freeholders who in 1725 compounded for seven years for their tithes at Bradfield, but he did not reside there, and this is the last mention of the name. Ronksley Coll. 9843.

in 1653, his 'kinsman Renold Hurt', whose father, as we shall see, was born at Haldworth. The little moated hall at Hesley to which Valentine Hurt, son of the second Nicholas, removed in 1670, is in the same parish of Ecclesfield, and both he and his wife were related to Vicar Mansel* (1691-1704), Mrs. Mansel (17) being the widow of their cousin, Henry Saxton, and daughter of the George Westby of Gilthwaite who entered his pedigree in the Visitation of 1666 (18). The Vicar in his Will mentions his brother and sister Westby, his brother and sister Kent, his sister Laughton, all of whom were relatives of Mrs. Hurt. Valentine gave the old family name of Walter to one of his sons, who died an infant in February 1687/8, and to him Bradfield Church and the old freehold house still inhabited by his kinsman, Walter Hurt, must have been familiar.

Between Jonathan Hurt, son of Valentine, and Haldworth a closer connexion can be shown. He married in 1719 Frances, daughter of Thomas Statham of Tideswell, by Mary, elder daughter and coheir of John Ibbotson. Mr. Ibbotson by Will dated 28 March 1684, left to his younger daughter Anne the messuage in Haldworth in which he then resided, and to Mary,† probably as being the best of the two houses, the 'Messuage or tenement situate in Haldworth called Hurt house, which I purchased of one Walter Hurt'. At the time of the marriage in 1719 the old home of the family was actually in possession of the bride's mother, who may perhaps have resided there occasionally during her visits to the Bradfield neighbourhood, in which she had many relations. It appears by Phillis Balguy's letters (19) that Mr. Jonathan Hurt sometimes came over from Sheffield to the Bradfield wake, which was attended also by the Balguys, Stathams, and by a number of the neighbouring gentry; he must surely

* Described in Henry Parke's poem as 'judicious Mansel, grave and holy'. He came of a very ancient Northamptonshire family, and built the existing vicarage in 1695. His widow, who resided after his death at Howarth close to her sister Laughton, gave a library to the value of £100 for the use of the clergy and parishioners of Rotherham for ever. See Eastwood's *Ecclesfield*, pp. 202-4; *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 529, 603; *Hallamshire* (old ed.), p. 258.

† See B.M. Addit. MS. 24467, fos. 86, 119; *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 655. The initials of this Mary and of her first husband, Nicholas Shiercliffe of Whitley Hall, with the date '1683' are over a door-head in the east wing at Whitley.

have sought out and spoken with the former owner of Hurt House, who died in 1720 when nearly 80 years old; and as his great friend William Battie had married the widow of John Kenyon, owner of Haldworth Hall, may have been acquainted with that property also.

Mr. Jonathan Hurt's second wife was Catherine Sitwell, whose mother's family, the Reresbys of Ecclesfield (20), continued to live in that parish until the death in 1802 of Mrs. Anne Reresby, the last of the race. This Anne was first cousin to Francis Hurt, who succeeded to Renishaw in 1776 and took the name of Sitwell. Francis often stayed with the Reresbys and Phipps at High Green, as also with his other cousins, John and Thomas Shiercliffe, at Whitley Hall. He had inherited through the Sitwells a small estate at Haldworth, once the residence of George Eyre, and in 1784 bought a third share of the Bradfield tithes, the only link which now remains to connect his family with the Chapelry. Being interested in genealogy, he must have known that his ancestors came from that place, and have visited the house at Haldworth in which they once resided. Perhaps, as his son took little notice of such matters, the knowledge may have died with him.

In the nineteenth century, the freehold house having been pulled down, local tradition at Bradfield derived the Hurts from Haldworth Hall, which had indeed been in their possession from 1540 until 1633, but not as a principal residence. The Rev. Reginald Gatty in his letters of the year 1881 speaks of 'the Hurt family, which formerly came from Haldworth Hall in this parish', and this information he may probably have derived from his father, Dr. Gatty, who had been Vicar of Ecclesfield since 1839. In about 1882 Alfred Scott-Gatty (then Rouge Dragon and afterwards Garter King of Arms), misled by the surrender of 1499-1500 and by Hunter's note of the sale from Hurt to Adamson in 1633, first propounded the theory that the old house below Haldworth Bank was the original home of the family.

CHAPTER V

NOTTINGHAM UNDER ELIZABETH

ABOUT the time of Robert Hurt's marriage in November 1564, his mother with her second husband left the freehold house at Haldworth for that of the Seniors at Middle Colmes on the other side of Onesmoor, where, as we have already seen, they were living in 1568 and until her death in February 1580/1. To her younger sons Walter, Richard, and Nicholas, Middle Colmes was the home of their boyhood, and Walter became so much attached to the place and to his half-brothers Robert and Richard Senior, that he eventually settled there, buying the capital messuage called Over Colmes with a small property of 135 acres, of which part abutted upon the said Richard Senior's land.

By a deed dated 4 March 1588, Thomas Chapell sells to Walter Hurt of Middle Colmes the capital messuage called Over Colmes, with a garden, a yard, and closes called Howse Close and Little Bromefyeld, lying between Bullus dyke on the south, the land of Thomas Chapell on the north, butting on the land of Richard Senyar called Newfyeld towards the east, and the common called Onesmore towards the west.(1) Eight years later by an indenture dated 20 August 1596 Robert Senior and Walter Hurt, who have purchased to them and their heirs certain lands of Thomas Chapell, covenant to have a recovery upon a writ of entry *in le post* of two messuages, 35 acres of land, 5 of meadow, 24 of pasture, 20 of wood, 30 of furze or heath, 20 of moor. Accordingly, a fine to this effect is taken in the court of Westminster at Hilary Term, 1592-3, Thomas Chapel and Elena his wife acknowledging the aforesaid premises in Worrall and Bradfield to be the right of the said Walter and Robert and the heirs of Walter for ever, for which acknowledgement the said Walter and Robert give £40. It appears that the lands were then in the tenure of Walter Hurt, who was the real purchaser.

In 1601, Walter, who had another property at Nether Colmes, entered into the following agreement to sell the messuage and lands acquired from Thomas Chapell:

Indenture of 13 August 1601. Walter Hurt of Combes and Nicholas Hurt of Savile Hall bind themselves to Richard Waterhouse of Onesaker in a sum of £166. The condition is that they assure to him all that capital messuage, and other lands at Colmes in the county of York heretofore sold to the said Walter Hurt by one Thomas Chappell and others. *'And also if Richard Hurt of Nottingham, brother of the said Walter and Nicholas, do uppon reasonable request of the said Richard Waterhouse his heirs and assigns, assure release and convey the said tenement and all other the premisses before mencioned to the said Richard Waterhouse,'* &c. Upon the face of the parchment is 'Nichol', part of the signature of Nicholas Hurt, the rest being torn away.*

The main interest of this indenture lies in the description of Richard Hurt as 'of Nottingham'. A person of that name served as Mayor of the Borough referred to for the years 1595-6, 1602-3, and 1609-10, represented it in the Gunpowder Treason Parliament of 1604-11, and in 1603, when Queen Anne passed through the city on her way to the Coronation in London, presented a silver cup three-quarters of a yard high on behalf of the Corporation. Many years ago the late Sir Alfred Gatty maintained that the Mayor must be identical with Richard, younger son of the first Walter Hurt of Haldworth, but his conjecture was unsupported by evidence and the present writer saw no reason for accepting it. Indeed, the truth of it might never have been made clear had not this document come to light, for though the three brothers, Walter, Richard, and Nicholas, are often found together, nowhere else is there any reference to the place at which Richard resided.

* The original bond is in the possession of the Rev. Rowland A. Wilson of Bolterstone, the reference number being 30564-9. The writer has a copy attested as follows: 'I hereby certify that the above is a true word for word copy, without alteration except in the expansion of contracted words, of the original deed, formerly in the possession of John Wilson of Bromehead, and now in the possession of my Father the Reverend Canon William Reginald Wilson of Waldershaigh, Bolterstone, made by me this fourth day of September, 1913, on 4 sheets of which this is the fourth, (signed) Rowland A. Wilson.'

Nottingham had always been a place of great importance. In the days of the Heptarchy a stockaded settlement guarding the ford through the Trent, a borough by prescription before the Danish invasion, it was famous throughout the Middle Ages for the cunning of its smiths and the greatness of its trade in dyed cloths and wool. Its position on the 'road towards York' mentioned in Domesday—a highway much used by travellers who could ride armed and in company through the forest—upon the river Trent, the legal boundary between northern and southern England, gave it geographical importance; and being situated within the metes and bounds of Sherwood, the legends of Wayland Smith and Robin Hood surrounded it with an atmosphere of romance.

There were few, if any, of the English Kings who had not visited it more than once; indeed, Thoroton goes so far as to say that there is no place anything like so far distant from London, 'which hath so often given entertainment and residence to the Kings and Queens of this Realm since the Norman Conquest'. The Empress Maud captured the castle in 1141, and upon the forfeiture suffered by William Peveril in 1155 it became a royal possession. Henry II spent great sums upon building at Nottingham, where he kept the Christmas of 1179, having with him as a guest King William of Scotland, and summoned a council to meet there in 1181. In March 1194/5, as Roger de Hoveden relates (1a), Richard Cœur de Lion went to see Clipston and the forests of Sherwood, which he had never seen before, 'and they pleased him much'; he visited Clipston again on the 2nd of April to meet the King of the Scots, who was lodging at Worksop. John resided here in great splendour during the latter part of his brother's reign, built the square keep in 1212 and spent his last Christmas at the castle in 1215. Henry III carried out many improvements. In 1244 the chambers of the King and Queen were wainscoted. In 1252 two 'tablets' or pictures on panel with the histories of St. William and St. Edward, two with the history of St. Catherine, were painted and set up as frontal and upper-frontal upon the altar in the King's chapel and that dedicated to the last-named saint, which was to have upon the gable a representation of the Doom to be

Dreaded. The walls of the Queen's chamber were frescoed with the history of Alexander, and in the great hall, where she must often have listened to this favourite romance as recited by the minstrels, a glass window was set up with an image of St. Martin stretching forth his cloak to the beggar (2).

At Nottingham the King and the Prince with the royal army made their head-quarters in 1265, and Edward I held the Parliament of 1295. Edward II was often in residence with Queen Isabella, and Edward III surprised Mortimer in the castle at the assembly of the Parliament of 1330. Richard II summoned the principal officials and citizens of London to meet him at Nottingham, and Henry IV lived there for some time. Edward IV, who was in residence at Nottingham in 1469, 1470, and after his landing at Ravenspur in 1471, built at the castle an 'excellent goodlie tour' of three stories and chambers with 'marvelus fair-composed windoes', above which King Richard III added an upper story of timber with round windows proportionate to the windows of stone. It was here that the latter monarch received the news that Henry Tudor had landed in England; setting out thence he marched to Leicester and so to the field of Bosworth where he lost both crown and life. Henry VII encamped under the castle hill in June 1489, the night before his victory at East Stoke. The intended meeting in 1562 between Elizabeth and Queen Mary of Scotland, for which great preparations of tournaments, masques, and other entertainments had been made, was abandoned, but Elizabeth is said to have stayed at Wollaton on July 21 and 22 in 1575,* King James paid six visits to the town, and it was at Nottingham that Charles I, who had his father's liking for the place, raised his standard at the opening of the Civil War.

By the favour of our early Kings the inhabitants were in possession of many privileges, of which some went back to times beyond the memory of man, others were founded upon legal concession. In 1108, when William Peveril made his grant to Lenton, the town was already divided into a French and an English borough, each with its own Bailiff or Reeve, its distinctive laws and customs; there is some reason to con-

* *Derb. and Nott. Notes & Queries*, vol. i, p. 34.

jecture that this arrangement represents an earlier division between Danes and English.* In 1157 Nottingham obtained its earliest charter from Henry II, who was the first to surround it with a wall of stone; in 1189 John empowered the burgesses to choose their own Reeve, and Edward I in 1283-4 gave them licence to elect a Mayor. As time went on, one sovereign after another offered them new proofs of his favour. They had their Gild-Merchant, chose their own coroner, were free from toll throughout the kingdom, and might not be impleaded anywhere except within the city walls. The borough was a county of itself, had its own court with cognizance of pleas as well of land as of trespasses, also pleas of assizes; its own jail, with forfeiture of chattels of felons and fugitives. No commission to raise troops was valid unless the Mayor had been placed upon it, no officer of the Crown might enter within the boundaries to execute process; the seven aldermen were Justices of the Peace in right of their office, and the county magistrates had no power to intermeddle with the affairs of the town.

Royal visits to the castle or to the neighbouring manor of Clipston, the residence of the court within the walls, the meeting of parliaments and councils, gave dignity to the municipal government of the borough. As is shown by letters preserved among the records, the Mayor of Nottingham corresponded on equal terms with the Mayor of London; his position may indeed be compared with that of the Bailiff or other civic head of one of the great continental cities such as Nuremburg, for Nottingham of the fourteenth century was hardly inferior to the latter in the greatness of its historic traditions and of its commerce.† The office was thus an ob-

* One may doubt whether the 'new' (or French) borough, mentioned in Domesday, can really have sprung up in the twenty years that had elapsed since the Conquest: it is supposed by some to represent the estate which had been held by Tostig, the brother of Harold. Of the two boroughs, the French was the more important. It had a town hall built of stone on the site occupied in the seventeenth century by the Feathers Inn and now by the Old Moot-Hall vaults at the south-east corner of Friar Lane; this street leading up towards the castle was once known as Moothall-gate. A wall through the centre of the market-place divided the boroughs, and in 1677, when Thoroton wrote, the distinction between them was still observed, the fine for an affray if blood were drawn being 18s. in the French, but only 6s. 4d. in the English borough.

† The population of mediæval towns was of course very small as judged by a modern standard; that of York, the principal city of the north, was only about 11,000

ject of ambition to people of wealth and influence, and from the middle of the twelfth century, when Bugge, the founder of Lord Middleton's house, was Reeve of the French borough, quite a number of well-known families in the county could trace their descent from some ancestor who had once stood at the head of the burgesses. Thoroton gives a list of the 'considerable persons formerly resident in the town, and the many traders and officers from whom families of good esteem and worship have sprung'. He remarks that in the time of Edward III not a few of the chief men of Nottingham 'had Seals of Arms within a fair Circonscription of their names', as Nicholas de Crophill, Hugh Spicer, Robert de Morewode, and Roger de Hopwelle. Others, like the Samons or Salmons, had emblazoned their bearings in the windows of St. Mary's church. Deering also, speaking of the period from 1390 onwards, when the manufacture of dyed cloths obtained its greatest lustre, refers to the 'many considerable families in the Town and Country' to which that trade had given rise, 'as the *Bugges*, the *Binghams*, the *Willoughbies*, *Tannesley*, *Mappurley*, *Thurland*, *Amyas*, *Allestree*, *Samons*, *Plumptres*, the *Hunts*, and others, all Merchants of the Staple of *Calais*'.

Such lists of names would be but the dry bones of history, were it not that we may still peruse the last Wills of some of these great merchant-mayors. With one of them, the John Samon of Gretsmyth Gate who first held office in 1361-2 and died in 1418, we are brought into personal touch by a monumental effigy which yet remains in St. Mary's church. His head with beard slightly forked rests upon a double cushion supported by angels, his feet upon a hound. The costume is that worn by merchants and franklins, by nobles also when not attired for war or for the chase: a long girdleless robe buttoned down to the feet, with high collar and small loose sleeves. A short sword hangs from the right shoulder by a leather baldrick, ornamented with cinquefoils or roses; the shoes are pointed and the hat, probably of beaver, is high and round-topped with broad, up-turned brim. The hands are pointed towards the chin in an attitude of prayer. This John

in 1377. It is stated that Nuremburg at the time may have had 40,000 or 50,000 inhabitants, but this is very doubtful.

Samon is a witness with John Plumptre and John Allestree to the Will (dated 17 January 1413/4) of his father-in-law, John Tannesley of Thurland Hall, whose tomb is also to be seen in the church. The testator after leaving great legacies to religious houses and in charity, gave directions for one of those sumptuous funerals in which the men of the Middle Ages delighted. His body was to be buried in the church of the Blessed Mary of Nottingham, and before it was to go his better horse with his harness and sword in the name of his principal. Many pounds of wax candles were to be burnt about his corpse and a large sum is given 'in the assembling of my friends for their expenses on the day of my sepulture'.

The Weavers' (or cloth-makers') Guild of Nottingham is the first named among the five recognized by Henry II;* it was in existence in 1156, and may probably have sprung up in the reign of his grandfather, when, as we know, the trade of Nottingham was very prosperous, rather than during the troubled times of Stephen. When speaking of the fortunes made by the manufacture of cloth, Deering should have mentioned also the export of wool. In 1337 the cost of Nottingham wool was taken as the basis of the royal trading transactions; in 1341 the price was again ordained at Nottingham, which in 1355 was given the rank of a staple town. The other great industry of the place was the working-up of iron. We are informed in the contemporary Annals of Dunstable that in 1257 Queen Eleanor, who had intended to make a long stay at Nottingham castle, was forced to leave it because she could not endure the 'smoke of the sea-coals' (3), and one of the writers in the Victorian County History, commenting upon the passage, remarks that 'as there can be no question of any considerable employment of the mineral for domestic use at this period, we may safely conclude that it was in request as fuel for the lime-burner, the baker, the brewer and the smith' (4). With this view one cannot altogether agree. The working of coal in the thirteenth century was too wide and general, the assertions of a customary right for copyholders in certain

* Nottingham, York, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Winchester. Wilda, *Das Gilde-
wesen in Mittelalter*, 1831, p. 314; Will. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry*, 1910,
p. 652.

manors to get and burn it are too common in later times for us to deny that it served as domestic fuel. But the small caking coal known as 'sea-coal' had a special use; a Nottingham pamphleteer of 1641 informs us that it is 'fitter for Forges and Furnaces which require an inward Heat, than for Chimney Fires y^t require an outward' (5); there is reason to believe that as early as 1259 English smiths were using sea-coal mixed with other fuel for working up their iron (6), and knowing the great importance of the smiths at Nottingham in the thirteenth century we shall hardly be wrong in inferring that theirs was the industry responsible for producing the volume of smoke which offended the sensitive olfactory nerves of Queen Eleanor.

Every one has heard of

*The little smith of Nottingham,
who doth the work that no man can,*

a couplet already so old when quoted by Ray in 1670 that the precise intent and purport of it had been forgotten. More than two hundred and fifty years have passed since then, and the riddle is yet unsolved. Yet if one studies the matter closely, to find a satisfactory explanation is really not so difficult. We now know that Gridlesmith Gate was known in the fourteenth century as Greatsmithgate (*Vicus Magnorum Fabrorum*). But if there were 'great smiths' in Nottingham, it follows that there were also 'little smiths'; the former engaged in turning out the bulkier articles of iron such as plough-irons, coulter, shares, &c., the latter identical with the bridlesmiths or lorimers of Bridlesmith Gate, who, as the dictionaries inform us, would be 'makers of bits for bridles, spurs and such-like small iron work', or more generally 'makers of small iron ware and workers in wrought iron'. A writer in the *Daily Mail* of 11 February 1922 asserts that of all handicrafts the most difficult is the forging hard steel bits and stirrups, and that there are not ten men living who can do so successfully. The fact then which the original author of the popular rhyme intended to convey to us, is that in the Middle Ages the best bits and spurs in the whole world were forged at Nottingham.

Another reference to the reeking hearths and sweating smiths of the place, is to be found in a leonine couplet written by some monkish rhymers of the thirteenth or fourteenth century:

Nil nisi confingam possum laudare Nottingham;
Gens foetet atque focus, sordidus ille locus.

—a couplet which the anonymous author of 1641 translates as follows:

I cannot without Lye and shame,
Commend the Town of Nottingham,
The people and the fewel stinke,
The place is sordid as a sinke.

This is perhaps the earliest mention which history affords of the disadvantages of a manufacturing town, and though the statement be exaggerated, though the smoke, the grime, the foul odours were probably nothing to what people have to put up with nowadays, we may thank the poet for conveying to us an idea of the trade activity which even at so remote a period prevailed in the midland city.

There were also other local industries of less importance, each giving a name to the street in which it was followed, for in those days the workmen in each separate trade toiled and ate and slept, lived and died in close communion with their fellows. Guildford and Deering give a local directory of the addresses at which such traders or mechanics were to be found—the bakers in *Baxter Gate*, the tanners in *Barker Gate*, the bridle-makers in *Bridlesmith Gate* known in Latin as *Vicus Loremiorum*, the butchers or flesh-hewers in *Fletcher Gate*, the dyers in *Lister Gate*, the makers of fur garments in *Pilcher Gate*, the fishermen in *Fisher Gate*, the fullers of cloth in *Walker Gate*, the shoemakers in *Shoemaker Booths*. Remembering the fifteenth-century ballad of Robin Hood and the potter of Nottingham, we must add to this list the workers in Potter Street,* as well as those who gave a name to Sadler Gate, Wheelwright Gate, and Chandler Lane.

Nottingham is mentioned more than once in the old

* Roger and Robert the potters occur in the Nottingham records of about 1242. Two or three tall pitchers of fourteenth-century date with grotesque visages upon them may be seen in the local Museum.

romances. At the end of *Sir Bevis*, Miles of Hampton is made to marry there the daughter of King Edgar; an indication that in the thirteenth century, when the English version of the romance was composed, the town had both the appearance and the reputation of extreme antiquity. To the mediæval wayfarer the great sight of the place was the rock-dwellings, that is to say the excavations in the Hollow Stone or under the castle in which a number of poor families resided, and especially the larger caverns formed at some period to serve as halls, chambers, passages, and churches, the latter arched in a regular manner and supported by columns with carved capitals. A fourteenth-century traveller who sets himself to give in a word the most characteristic feature of each English town, speaks in Norman-French of the 'boves de Notyngham', the caves of Nottingham (7). Upon the rock-hewn pillars of this deserted underworld rested not only the Long Row and Timber Hill, but a great part of the town, for we are told that in later times a workman having broken an entrance into one of these subterranean fabrics on the east side of the Weekday Cross, made his way from one spacious place, supported and adorned by pillars as has been mentioned, to another, until he came as far as the upper end of Pilcher-gate. But the rock-holes, though the most singular, were not the only sight that the city had to offer. The splendid church of St. Mary, rebuilt towards the end of the thirteenth century with massive clustered columns to replace those of the great aisled Norman church of *circa* 1175, must also have been well worth a visit.

It is to this Early-English church of St. Mary that Robin Hood in the fourteenth-century ballad (8) comes to hear mass at Easter, and while kneeling before the chancel screen is recognized by a monk whom he had once robbed of a hundred pounds:

He gos in to seynt mary chirch,
And knelid down be fore the rode;
Alle that ever were the church with in
Be held wel Robyn hode.

The ballad goes on to describe how an alarm having been given, the town gates were sparred and soldiers surrounded

the church. Robin, after breaking his sword over the Sheriff's head, is arrested and thrown into the county jail, from which he is eventually rescued by March and Little John.

In the opening years of the fourteenth century the church of St. Mary was the scene also of the annual enthronement of the Boy-Bishop at the Feast of the Holy Innocents; sometimes in the presence of the King himself, for in the Wardrobe Account of December 1316 we find Edward the Second bestowing at the castle on that youthful dignitary a present of ten shillings.* And here, as we may suppose, on high festivals, when the silver lamps were lighted and palls of purple silk covered the altars, when the choir was full of rose-garlanded priests in capes bedecked with pearls and jewels, the sight must have been a glorious one, as they moved in procession down the long aisles singing psalms to the glory of God or the joyous strains of the *Salve festa dies*. It has been said that Nottingham of the Middle Ages was without the usual municipal drama of mystery or miracle plays (9), but the statement is altogether incredible, and we must not allow it to close our eyes to the Bible scenes that were staged in the neighbourhood of St. Mary's, or to the Guild processions that passed with music, banners, and effigies through the streets.

The fourteenth, though in England generally the unluckiest of centuries—a time of famine, pestilence and depopulation, of almost unbroken misfortune—was the Golden Age of Nottingham. The trade in cloth had reached the summit of prosperity, the staple of wool had been fixed there, and the merchants of Lombardy and Tuscany, of Brabant Almain and Reval came to buy sacks by the hundred from the religious houses and the greater landowners. Edward III held most of his councils there, visited the town again and again in his later years, and in the earlier part of his reign (1333–57) often used it as a base from which to advance against Scotland. Indeed, had the Scotch wars continued, it might easily have become the capital of the kingdom, an honour for which its central position as measured from the four seas, astride of that great highway of commerce, the Trent, which

* 'To the boy-bishop of St. Mary's church at Nottingham, coming into the King's presence on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, 10s.' *Archæologia*, xxvi. 342.

like a 'metewand'* or measuring rod divided England into two provinces, and upon the northern road which leads towards York and Newcastle, rendered it well fitted. King David of Scotland was long confined in the castle and another captive monarch, King John of France, was interned at Somerton, a few miles beyond Newark; the school of Nottingham is mentioned as early as 1307,† the sculptured tablets and images of the alabaster-men found a market throughout Europe from Southern Italy to Iceland,‡ and about the same time that school of forest singers arose which has woven for us the romances of young Gamelyn and Robin Hood. Up to the very end of the century the place was flourishing, and the inhabitants were both able and willing to adorn it with fabrics which might increase and perpetuate the glory of the town. The indulgence granted by Pope Boniface IX in 1401 speaks of the 'solemn, wondrous and manifold sumptuous work' with which the rebuilding of St. Mary's had lately been begun, a richly ornamented style tending towards the perpendicular of which we have examples only a few years later in the southern porch and the canopy over Samon's tomb.

From this brief sketch of the earlier history of the town we may turn to Elizabethan Nottingham, with which we are more directly concerned. At the end of the sixteenth century the town must have presented very much the same appearance as in 1677,§ when Thoroton published three engraved views of it, of which one is taken from the London road. The traveller from the south would be delighted as he descended Ruddington hill by the sight of the wide and fertile Trent valley, bounded by the rocky hillside on which the

* The river was so called by Dr. Inx in a sermon preached before King James I, at Newark. At the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, this was the line of defence against the insurgents.

† *Inquis. post mortem*, vii. 140.

‡ In 1367-72, Peter Maceon of Nottingham received 300 marks for the great table or reredos behind the high altar in St. George's chapel at Windsor. This was so large that ten carts, each drawn by eight horses, were required to convey it to its destination. *Archæol. Journal*, vol. lxi, pp. 221-40.

§ A few good brick houses had been built since the Civil Wars ended, the 'Dance of building new Fronts', of which Deering speaks, had begun, but in all its essential features the old town was unchanged. The first brick house in Nottingham was the Green Dragon Inn on the Long Row, built in 1614, but in 1641 there was still no brickmaker in the town.

city stands, the latter exhibiting, as we are told, 'as proud a Frontispice and glorious a Face of Building as is not to be seen from any other [place] of the Kingdome.'* To the left, on the summit of a lofty crag rose the castle, the confused mass of houses between it and the church of St. Mary falling in a crescent curve which was broken midway by the fretted spire of St. Peter's. In the foreground of the picture were broad luxuriant meadows through which, fringed by pleasant lines of willows, flowed the Trent and the Leen.

Both of these rivers had to be crossed to reach the town. First came the silvery Trent, broad and free-flowing, a number of barges or flat-bottomed boats under huge square sails moving heavily upon it. The road passed over by the Heath-bethe bridge, a many-arched and buttressed structure of stone. This was very narrow—only fifteen feet in breadth; by the northernmost arch were the remains of a chapel founded in 1303 by John le Paumer and Alice his wife for their own souls and the souls of all who should contribute towards the maintenance of the bridge. On either bank of the river, which was still a great highway for commerce, were staithes or wharfs for the storage and landing of goods, some for export, as coals and lead, others imported, as wines, fish, iron, flax, pitch, tar, &c.; these last were heaped up upon the quays, being brought in sufficient quantity to furnish not only the town of Nottingham, but divers other market towns in the counties adjoining, more especially Melton Mowbray, Leicester, Mount-Sorrel, Loughborough, Ashby de la Zouch, Derby, and Ashbourn in the Peak, all of which were supplied by land-carriage from the riverside at Nottingham.

Between the rivers lay an expanse of meadow about a mile long, crossed by a wooden gangway for the use of foot-passengers in flood time; there were two considerable pools of water on the way, over which coaches, wagons, and horsemen might pass when the waters were out, by means of bridges known as 'the Chainy-bridges', because in dry weather they were closed with iron chains. At the further end of the meadow was the Leen- or town-bridge, another long causeway of twenty arches, and just beyond it, stood an

* So the anonymous author of 1641. *Thoroton Soc. Trans.* vol. ii.

ancient hospital of stone, founded in the year 1392 by John de Plumptre, a rich merchant of the staple. The southern entrance of the town needed no embattled gateway to defend it, for here the only approach was by a passage cut through a precipitous cliff connected at either end with the city wall. This narrow passage, known as the Hollow Stone, had once been secured by a portcullis, falling in a groove which was still visible; within, hewn in the native rock, was a cavity fitted up with a fireplace and benches, where a score of soldiers might take their ease; a winding stairway led up from it to a look-out upon the summit. On either side of the steep ascent into the town were dwellings excavated in the cliff, from which one was assailed with a foul odour of tanners' smoke, and the road was so narrow that one coach or wagon could not pass another.

At the top of this road called the Hollow Stone, which curved sharply to the left as it mounted upward, stood the glorious church of St. Mary, a many-windowed fane built in the form of a cathedral with a lantern tower raised at the intersection of nave and transepts. Passing on by a spacious street called the High Pavement, the traveller would reach the Weekday market. Here stood the ancient Guildhall, a structure of oak and plaster with four irregular gables facing the Weekday Cross. At the end of the Middle Pavement a turn to the right brought one into Bridlesmith Gate, a narrow but picturesque street of tall gabled houses, oak-framed, with oversailing upper stories. Here the raucous clang of anvils rang out continuously from blacksmiths' shops of the rougher kind. Turning again at a right angle into Smithy Row, one reached the market-place, commended by Leland a little earlier as being on account of the building on the further side of it, the great wideness of the street and the clean paving, 'the most fairest without Exception in al Englande.'* This was the largest open space in the town, where the town soldiers and the Midsummer Watch held their musters, and on Saturdays stalls and booths of milliners, pedlars, hardwaremen, turners, braziers, tinmen, chandlers, and collar-

* Thomas Holcroft, who was at Nottingham when a boy, about the middle of the eighteenth century, expresses the same opinion.

makers, were crowded together as in the piazza of an Italian city. Near the centre of it stood the Malt Cross, a stone column rising from a base of ten octagonal steps, and down the middle from north to south ran a long wall, the dividing line between the French and English boroughs; at the further end the entrance from the Derby road was defended by Chapel Bar, one of the two remaining gates of the city. Leland's 'building on the further side' is of course the Long Row, described by a writer of 1658 as the 'Ornament Gaity and Beauty' of Nottingham (10), a line of old houses of which some had carved gables, while others were adorned with pargeting of grapes and vine-leaves in relief and colour. Here with open doors under bracketed signs rich in paint and gilding stood the principal inns for the reception of travellers: the Crown, Greyhound, Hart, Ram, and Green Dragon; the Bull's Head, where Camden and Sir Robert Cotton lodged in 1599 (11); the Unicorn, 'in whose writings it is expressed that the House was built in the year 1503, the first that was Tiled and the last on the Long Row'.

All these inns had a common eating-room upon the ground floor, a parlour upstairs for visitors of distinction, and were built in the form of a quadrangle, the central yard being surrounded on the upper story by wooden galleries out of which the bedchambers opened. In the reign of Elizabeth the inn-yards at Nottingham were often used for dramatic performances by companies of players, and at the commencement of the Civil Wars, when Prince Rupert passing through the town dined at the Castle Inn, we have direct evidence that the planning for houses of public entertainment had not altered. The Prince, we are told, was 'introduced into the Room where the gallery looked into the yard', and called for a bottle of wine. It was then the custom for members of reigning families to have their meat and drink tasted officially before they touched it, as a safeguard against poison, and though the danger in most cases was more imaginary than real, the privilege was valued as a mark of royal rank. The Prince seems to have insisted humourously upon the waiter drinking the first glass. That person, as it happened, was a teetotaller, and not wishing to be poisoned himself, declined;

upon which the Prince drew his sword, and the waiter was so alarmed that he took the extreme course of jumping from the gallery into the yard below. A few tactful words from the host of the inn soon put matters right. 'Your Highness will forgive him because he never drinks anything Strong, but if you will permit me to attend your Highness, I will oblige you by drinking the first Glass of every Bottle, let you call for as many as you will.'

The 'clean paving' of the Long Row is mentioned by Leland, and the anonymous writer of 1641 tells us that in his day the greater part of the streets were set with 'boulders' or river pebbles from the Trent, 'the most excellent paving that could be seen, for it would never break nor in any reasonable time wear with the traffic of iron bound carriages' (12). Yet Deering, speaking of the first half of the seventeenth century, gives a very unfavourable account of the sanitary condition of the town:

'The Traveller, especially in Winter, found the *Trent* Lanes very dirty, and after he had passed the *Leen* Bridge, the very foot of the Town called the Bridge-End, deep and miry. At his first Entrance into the narrow Passage which used to lead between two high Precipices to the upper part of the Town, he was from a parcel of little Rock-houses (if the Wind was Northerly) saluted with a Volley of suffocating smoke, caused by the burning of Gorse and Tanners Knobs. Every Body knows the Fragrancy and Cleanliness of Tanners, Fellmongers and Curriers, many of which were then dispersed all over the Town. The greatest thoroughfare in the Town, *Bridlesmith-gate* was then lined on both sides with the roughest kind of Black-smiths, the Market Place though spacious, yet was paved but on one side, and on the other called the Sands it was very miry.'

This is the dark side of the picture, obscured by mediæval dust and dirt, but every artist would gladly put up with a certain amount of mire and smoke and evil odour, if he could but recover for a moment the beauty of the older Nottingham. That it was more beautiful there can be no denial. The little left of the walls was in a ruinous condition,* but the castle upon its mighty rock still towered over the town, a labyrinth of steep and crooked streets, a medley of gabled dwellings framed of wood and plaster, thatched with straw and

* In 1638 an inhabitant is fined 'for gettunge stone out of the towne wall'.

reeds. On the hillside roof rose above roof with picturesque effect; scattered here and there amongst the houses, oak, maple, and sycamore lent gladness to the streets. The Chesterfield, the Headless, and the Milk Crosses, mentioned in documents of the fourteenth century, had long since disappeared, but the Malt Cross, Butter Cross, Hen Cross, High Cross, Weekday Cross, still remained to give interest to the open spaces, and a higher note of architectural beauty was struck by half a dozen Gothic churches. The chief of course was St. Mary's, the scene of the annual election of the Mayor and the centre of much civic pageantry; a very beautiful specimen of Perpendicular work belonging for the most part to about the years 1470-80. This was still perfect, and the spirit of an earlier age revealed itself in the pomp and pride of the armorial windows.

At the castle the slow process of decay had not gone much further since Leland described it, about the year 1540. From the great court, walled and towered about, a stately bridge with pillars bearing beasts and giants led over the ditch to the second or inner ward. Here statues of Guy and Colbrand (13) guarded the entrance, which was exceeding strong with towers and portcullises. On the north-west side of this inner court stood the magnificent fabric begun by Edward IV and finished by Richard III, who had named it the 'Castle of Care'. The hall was in ruins, but the donjon or keep of 1212, known as the 'old tower' and supposed to be the work of the Conqueror, stood yet foursquare to all the winds that blow; from the smaller court within it a rock-hewn stairway, known as 'Mortimer's Hole', led down by a great descent to the bank of the river Leen. Out of the first or base court also, curious visitors could descend with lighted candles into vaults cut in the very stone, on the walls whereof was the story of Christ's passion with other things, engraven, as it was said, by David King of Scotland during his captivity; at the bottom of the castle rock were many caves or excavations which served as a habitation for a number of poor families (14).

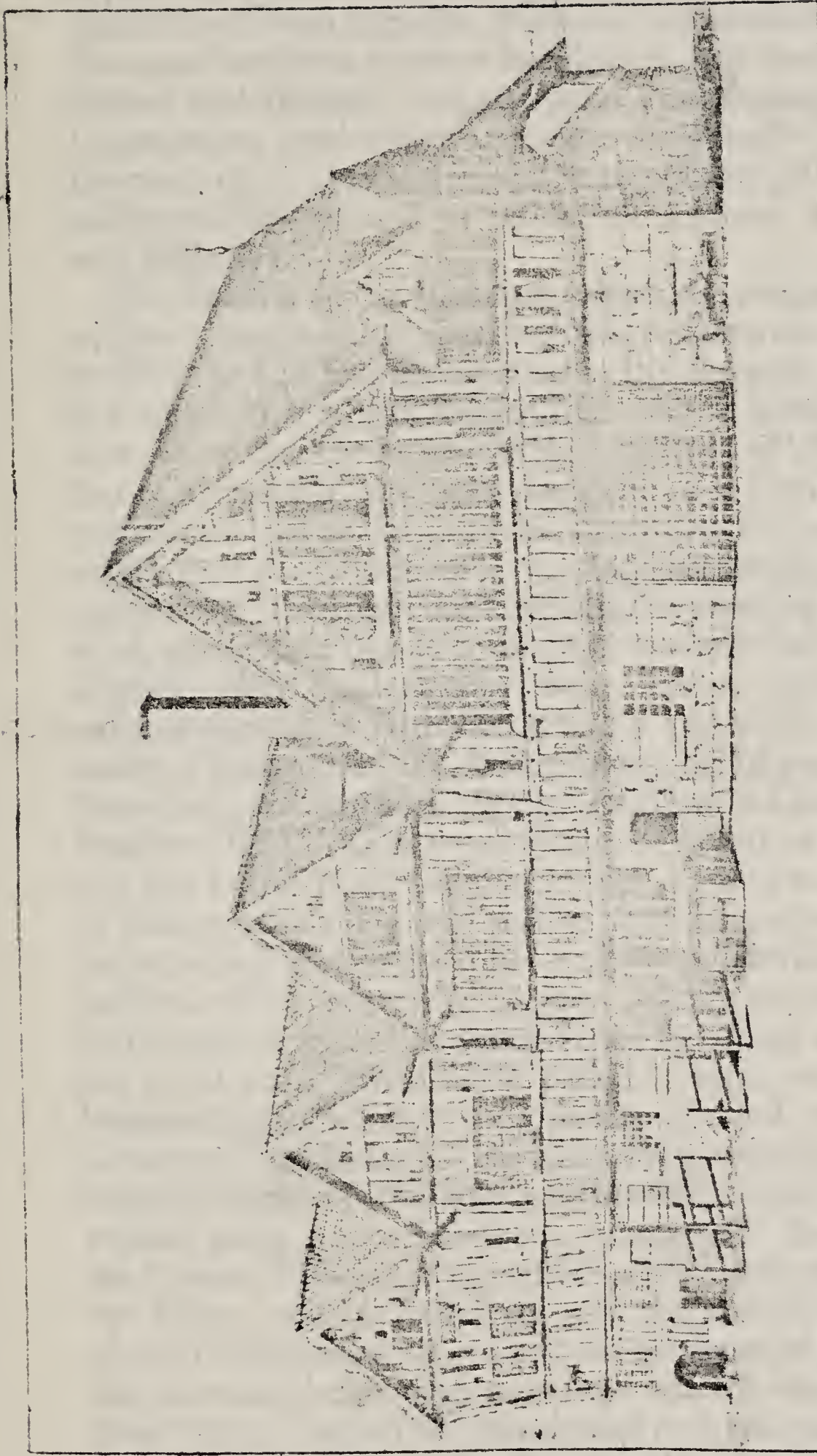
Though Nottingham, like most of the Midland towns, was built of wood and plaster, a few mediæval mansions of

stone yet remained to keep alive the memory of those rich merchant families which once held office and power. On the Long Row stood Amyas Place, built by the William de Amyas who was Mayor in 1328-9 and founded a chantry in St. Mary's church; from his family it passed to the Allestrees, merchants of the staple. Vout Hall, standing south of the Low Pavement, had been held before 1335 by the Plumptres, who owned it yet; the name was derived from the great vaults below it in which their bales of wool were stored. Bakewell Place on the High Pavement had taken its earlier name of Bugge Hall from the Ralph Bugge who was Reeve of the French borough in the reign of King John; his descendants, the Binghamms, sold it in 1347-8 to the family of Bakewell. Over against it was a house which had belonged in 1343 to Robert Wolaton.* At the top of St. Mary's Hill was an old house which in the fourteenth century had been the home of the Ingrams; others were that which in 1431-2 had been the residence of the Mayor, William Halyfax, and Thurland Hall in Gridlesmith Gate, occupied at one time by the John de Tannesley whose tomb of 1414 yet remains in the north transept of St. Mary's, afterwards by his grandson and heir, Thomas Thurland, the 'great merchant of the Staple' who served nine times as Mayor and four times as member of Parliament.

On the site of the town-hall of the French borough, a position now occupied by the old Moot-Hall Vaults at the south-east corner of the market-place, stood the Feathers Inn (15). The ancient hall of the English borough, commonly known as the Guildhall, was still in existence, standing in an open space between the High and the Middle Pavement to the south of the Weekday Cross. A drawing made by Sandby in 1741† shows a four-gabled building of post-and-pan work, 'wearing', as Deering says of it, 'the badge of antiquity'; the carved barge-boards under the eastern gable appear to belong to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and we may surely recognize this front as that of the 'New Hall' which

* His Will, dated 3 May 1382, is given in the *Records of Nottingham*, i. 218-21.

† Now preserved in the Museum at the Castle. A reproduction will be found in the second volume of the Borough Records, an engraving in Throsby, and two fanciful sketches in *Nottingham: its Castle*, by T. C. Hine.



Th. Sandby Del. 1746.

THE OLD TOWN HALL, NOTTINGHAM

by Thomas Sandby, R.A., 1741

*(from the original drawing in the City of Nottingham Art Museum
by permission of the Corporation of Nottingham)*

is proved by entries in the town records to have been in process of erection in 1479-80. But here, as is so often found to be the case elsewhere, the new building is only the old building altered and refaced. In 1479 John Pool bequeathed to the Corporation land adjacent to the Guildhall—probably to the west of it; advantage was taken of the gift to provide additional offices, and to render all uniform, a new facade was designed.

The interior of the structure, under the eastern wing, was evidently much older. Deering believed that the open timber roof of the hall had been set up in the eleventh century, for the reason that it was framed like that of Westminster; we now know that the latter was the work not of William Rufus but of Richard II, and must therefore alter Deering's date to the second half of the fourteenth century, the period during which the Gild-Merchant at Nottingham attained its greatest prosperity. The room itself was spacious and the lofty Gothic roof, resembling that of some great baronial hall, gave it real dignity. Here the burgesses were chosen who were to represent the city in Parliament, and it was used not only as a court of justice, but also for banquets, social gatherings, and theatrical performances. In the Guildhall of Leicester a great feast was held in 1588 to celebrate the defeat of the Armada, and the hooks from which the stage-curtain was suspended in Shakespeare's day may still be seen fixed upon one of the beams which sustain the roof. At Nottingham also the Guildhall was often lent to the players. Above the seat occupied by the Mayor when he presided over the Court of Pleas hung the royal arms handsomely painted, while on either side, blazoned upon tables or great panels of wood, were the coats of various benefactors to the town, with suitable inscriptions beneath them. Through the eastern wall a door led under the second gable into a handsome wainscoted chamber called the Council House, having within a rail a great table at which the Mayor and his brethren with the rest of the members of the Corporation transacted the business of the town; in this chamber the writings and other records were kept under three keys, of which the Mayor had one, the youngest alderman another, while the third was held by the senior coroner.

The third gable of the Guildhall covered the armoury, where the town weapons and harness were stored; the fourth, a prison for debtors. On the ground floor under the second and third gables were two taverns; beneath the Guildhall itself was a jail for felons, this being the 'old prison' which is known to have been in existence long before the reign of King John (16).

CHAPTER VI

CIVIC LIFE AT NOTTINGHAM

THE Mayor and Corporation, as their office required, kept up a certain amount of pomp and ceremonial. Four town-waits in scarlet cloaks laced with silver and silver chains hanging round their necks, led the way with music on days of public procession. Six mace-bearers—the *servientes ad clavas* mentioned in a document of 1467—carried the symbols of civic authority before Mayor and Sheriffs. By the terms of the charter granted by King Henry VI in 1488, the aldermen were permitted to wear scarlet gowns, hoods and cloaks, furred and lined in the same manner and form as the Mayor and aldermen of the City of London;* the two sheriffs and the two chamberlains with the members of the Clothing—that is all who had ever filled those offices—wore scarlet also, but their robes were of another fashion. The Mayor's clerk, commonly known as the Town Clerk, and the twelve councillors (increased to forty-eight in 1601) were more soberly attired. The pindar and woodward were in green with silver-laced cuffs, and minor officials, such as the master of the house of correction, the crier, and the bill-bearer, wore the town's livery of red with blue cuffs trimmed with silver lace. One of these officials was a town cook, whose principal duty it was to prepare the hot entertainments on the day of election and the annual venison feast at St. Anne's Well.

Round the old Guildhall and the church of St. Mary, where so many civic dignitaries had found a last resting-place, the public life of the borough ebbed and flowed. In

* The Mayoress, like the 'aldresses' or aldermen's wives, wore a special costume; she had her own pew at St. Mary's, and one of the town servants was at her beck and call. In 1577 there is a presentment that the aldermen and aldresses shall wear their apparel as has been used of ancient custom on the appointed days, and in 1599 it is thought 'convenientt that Maister Mayor shall not walke the towne withe outt his gowne and tippette', the last-named article of dress being, of course, the short cloak worn over the scarlet gown.

the vestry of the church the Mayor was elected, and in the chancel he took the oath of office. The ceremonious transfer of authority is described by Deering.

On the morning of 29 September the aldermen and all those who were upon the Clothing, assembled at the house of the out-going Mayor, who entertained them with a breakfast of hot roasted geese, it being Michaelmas Day. About ten o'clock they went on to the church 'in their formalities', the waits in scarlet cloaks playing before them, where they attended divine service and heard a sermon preached by one of the three chaplains to the Corporation. The sermon ended, the new Mayor was proposed and elected in the vestry; the mace, which had lain buried under rosemary and sprigs of bay upon a table covered with black cloth, was delivered to him with a suitable compliment by his predecessor, and returning with the others to the chancel he took the official oath. The whole body, preceded by the band of music, then marched in order as before to the Guildhall, attended by such gentlemen and tradesmen as had been invited. At the Weekday Cross, over against the hall, the Town Clerk proclaimed the Mayor and Sheriffs, and these, as Deering tells us, each at his respective house, feasted their friends, according to ancient custom, with hot and very expensive entertainments at which venison from the neighbouring parks was not wanting, one striving to outdo another in hospitality. On the following Saturday the Mayor was again proclaimed in open market from the steps of the Malt Cross.

In Elizabeth's reign the Mayor probably gave his dinner in the Guildhall, as was the custom at Leicester, and his table will have been adorned not only with the town service of pewter plates and dishes, but with much early silver plate in the form of standing salts, drinking-cups, and flagons.* In the borough records, under the date of 7 October 1577, we find a payment of two shillings to 'Heath the Jestar, beinge at Maister Maire's Sessyons' dyner', and like entries are found in 1576, 1578, and 1581. John Heath, who was evidently a

* In 1580 two 'best maces' were bought and others of older date were mended. No old silver now remains in the hands of the Corporation except two seals, one of the fourteenth century with a conventional representation of a fortified place, the other made in 1282-3 to be used for the Statute Merchant.

resident, may have been Jester to the Corporation; an official position which might well be revived for the purpose of brightening up the modern municipal banquet, or because of the opportunity thus afforded of formally presenting the cap and bells to one of those irresponsible humorists who are to be found on almost every elected body. In October 1616 there is another payment of 3*s.* 4*d.* 'to the Beareward on the Sessions daye'. Now in the Leicester town accounts of 1570 to 1605 there are numerous entries of gifts 'to the Beareward at Mr. Mayor's dinner', and it has been suggested that taking the place of the 'interlude' or light drama usually performed on such occasions, the bear was baited before the guests in the hall, in the interval between dinner and dessert, 'the company witnessing the exhibition with great delight' (1). For our forefathers bear-baiting had a strange fascination, which may perhaps be better understood if we read Laneham's description of the pastime as he saw it at Kenilworth in 1575:

'It was a sport very pleasant of these beasts to see the bear with his pink nose leering after his enemy's approach, the nimbleness and wait of the dog to take his advantage, the force and experience of the bear again to avoid his assaults. If he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free! If he were taken once, with what shift, with biting, with clawing, with rooting, tossing and tumbling, he would work to wind himself from them, and when he was loose to shake his ears twice or thrice with the blood and the slaver about his physiognomy was a matter of goodly relief.

'Thus with fending and proving, with plucking and tugging, scratt-ing and biting, by plain tooth and nail to one side and to tother, such expenses of blood and leather was there between them as a month's licking I ween will not recover.'

One may gather that the attractiveness of bear-baiting was not due entirely to the quick turns and clever manœuvres of the bear. A more subtle mental factor was also at work. Darwin has pointed out that the play of young animals is a preparation for the serious encounters they will have to face when they grow older. We have all watched with amusement the mock battles in which puppies engage, and the fight of dog and bear had about it an appearance of playfulness which was both pleasant in itself and helped to disguise the real cruelty of the practice. Such exhibitions, which were

eventually suppressed by the Puritans not because of the pain inflicted upon the bear but because of the 'goodly relief' (as Laneham has it) afforded to the spectators, must occasionally have been seen at civic banquets in Nottingham. But as a rule the waits, the players, and the minstrels wiled the afternoon away.

During the course of the municipal year at Nottingham, old custom had provided a number of ceremonial observances, some of them dating back to early mediæval times, in which the Mayor was expected to play the principal part. The church of Southwell, supposed to have been founded about 656 by Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York, was the mother-church of Nottinghamshire, and thither on Whitsun Monday the Corporation rode in procession to make their Epiphany offering. Deering gives the following order for their progress, copied from the Register of Southwell and the Leiger book of Nottingham:

'The Maiore of *Nottingham* and his Brethren and all the Clothing-in likewise to ride in their best livery at their Entry into *Southvill* on *Wytson Monday*, and so to procession *te Deum*; without the Maior and oder think the contrary because of Fouleness of Way, or distemperance of the Weder.

'Also the said Maiore and his Brethren and all the Clothing-in likewise to ride in their Livery when they be comyn home from *Southvill* on the said *Witson Monday* through the Town of *Nottingham*, and the said Justices of Peace to have their Clokes born after them on Horseback at the same Time through the Town.'

In 1530 there is a long account of the expenses of the 'Gate to Sothwelle', including payments for bearing the cross,* for the morris dancers who accompanied the party, and the taborer who drummed for them. In 1617 gifts are bestowed 'on y^e Lord Archbishopp's wyfe and his servants, when Maister Maior and his breethren dined at Southwell'. This annual excursion had been repeated by the Corporation for more than five hundred years. In 1171 Pope Alexander III conceded to the canons of the church at Southwell that in

* One of the questions asked in 1253 in each diocese throughout the kingdom was 'whether any laymen have contended for precedence with their banners in their visitation of the mother church'. Owing to disorders so caused, banners and crosses were substituted at Chichester in 1478 for the long painted wands which had previously been carried (2).

like manner as had been granted to them by the Archbishop of York and by long custom had been observed, both the clergy and laity of the county of Nottingham should at Pentecost come to their church with solemn procession. It was apparently the second Archbishop Thomas of York (1109-14) who gave permission to the parishioners of Nottingham to visit yearly the church of Southwell instead of that at York, receiving the same pardon, and we must refer the origin of the 'long custom' to his time, unless, indeed, he was merely confirming a privilege allowed by his predecessors (3).

Another annual outing which often recurs in the records was that which took place on Easter or 'Black' Monday to St. Anne's Well, about a mile from the city. In 1569 there is a gift of money 'to the Weytes for playenge to Saynt Anne Well, the Munday in Ester Weke, before Maister Maire'; in 1601 an order is made 'that the Aldermen, the Councill and the Cloathing shall wayte on Maister Maier on Blake Monday yearely to Saint Ane Well, there to spend theyr money with the Keper and Woodward', and this order is repeated in 1609, 1620-1, 1622, 1623. The anonymous author of 1641, from whom Deering quotes so freely, describes the well as 'a proud spring, walled about foursquare with free stone about six foot every way', standing at the foot of the town Coppices, a grove well stored with oaks and underwood on a gentle hanging brow facing the southern sun.

'At the Well there is a Dwelling House serving as an Habitation for the Woodward of those Woods, being an Officer of the Mayor. This House is likewise a Victualling House, having adjoining to it fair Summer-Houses, Bowers or Arbours, covered with the plashing and interweaving of Oak-Boughs for Shade, in which are Tables of large Oak Planks, and are seated about with Banks of Earth, fleightered* and covered with green Sods, like green Carsie Cushions. There is also a building containing two fair Rooms, an upper and a lower, serving for such as repair thither to retire to in Case of Rain or bad Weather.

* Made in flights or steps, or possibly the word should be 'sleighter' from 'slight', to make smooth or level.

‘Thither do the Townsmen resort by an ancient Custom beyond Memory. The Mayor and Aldermen of the Town and their Wives have used, on Monday in *Easter* Week, Morning Prayers ended, to march from the Town to this Well to Dinner, having the Town Waits to play before them, and attended by all the Clothing and their Wives (i.e. such as have been Sheriffs and ever after wear Scarlet Gowns), together with the Officers of the Town, and many other Burgesses and Gentlemen, such as wish well to the Woodward, this meeting being at first instituted and since continued for his Benefit.

‘This Well is all Summer long much frequented, and there are but few fair Days between *March* and *October*, in which some Company or other of the Town, such as use to Consort there, use not to fetch a walk to this Well, either to dine or sup, or both, some sending their Provision to be dressed, others bespeaking what they will have; and when any of the Town have their Friends come to them, they have given them no welcome unless they entertain them at this Well. Besides, there are many other Meetings of Gentlemen both from the Town and from the Country, making choice of this Place rather than the Town for their Rendezvous to recreate themselves at, by Reason of the sweetness and openness of the Air, where besides their Artificial they have Natural Music without charge; in the Spring by the Nightingale and in the Autumn by the Wood Lark, a bird whose Notes for variety and sweetness are nothing inferiour to the Nightingale, and much in her Tones, which filled with the Voices of other Birds like inward parts in Song serve to double the melodious Harmony of those sweet warbling Trebles. Here are likewise many Venison Feasts, and such as have not the Hap to feed the Sense of Taste with the Flesh thereof when dead, may yet fill their Sight with those Creatures living, which all Summer long are there to be seen picking Weeds in the Corn-Fields and Closes, and in Winter and hard Weather, gathering Sallets in the Gardens of such Houses as lie on the North side of the Town.

‘Among other meetings I may not omit one Royal and remarkable Assembly at this place, whereof myself was an

Eye Witness, which was that it pleased our late Sovereign King *James*, in his Return from Hunting in this Forest, to Honour this Well with his Royall Presence,* ushered by that Noble Lord *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and attended by many others of the Nobility, both of the Court and Country, where they drank the Woodward and his Barrels dry.'

From this description it is evident that the well must have been used very early as a pleasure-resort and the bourne of an easy pilgrimage. The bowers of interwoven oak-boughs, banked with earth and cushioned with green turf, might have been found in one of those mediæval gardens described in the romances, and near by was a maze, or Shepherd's race, some 535 yards long. Such mazes, which were usually made in the immediate vicinity of an ancient church or chapel, are believed by some antiquaries to have been designed as a means of penance, penitents being ordered to follow out the sinuous course on hands and knees, repeating certain prayers at fixed stations, others when they had reached the central *ciel* (4).

Of the Chapel of St. Anne, from which the well took its name, the 'ribs and ruins' were still visible in 1641. Deering says:

'that there has been one in this Place is visible, for the East Wall of that *quondam* Chappel supports the East side of the House, which is built on the Spot where that Place of Worship stood. In the room of the Altar is now a great Fire-Place, over which was found upon a Stone the Date of the Building of this Chappel, viz. 1409, which whilst legible one Mr. *Ellis* a watchmaker took down into his Pocket-Book, and communicated to me; by this it appears that it was built in the Reign of King Henry IV., 335 years ago, and who knows whether it might not be founded by that King, who resided about that Time at *Nottingham*.' The Well, before this Chapel was built, 'was known by the Name of *Robin Hood's* Well, by some called so to this Day. The People who keep the Green and Public House to promote a Holy-day Trade, show an old wickered Chair, which they call *Robin Hood's* Chair, a Bow, and an old *Cap*; both these they affirm to have been this famous Robber's property. This little Artifice takes so well with the people in low Life, that at *Christmas*, *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, it procures them a great deal of Business; for at those Times great Numbers of Young Men bring

* King James visited Nottingham for the third time on the 17th August 1614, lodging at Thurland Hall. Lord Shrewsbury was not living at the time of his fourth visit. In 1618 the house at St. Anne's Well was rebuilt.

their Sweethearts to this Well, and give them a Treat, and the Girls think themselves ill-used, if they have not been saluted by their Lovers in *Robin Hood's Chair*.'

At Nottingham the ceremonial 'bringing in of May', that is the carrying back in procession from woodland or open country a branch of flowering hawthorn to be set up in the market-place, was always performed in the presence and under the command of the Mayor. In its origin, an application of the two fundamental principles of primitive magic, namely that like produces like and that things which have once been in contact continue to act upon each other, this had been a custom of our Aryan forefathers long before history began. The burgeoning bough planted in the field was supposed to give a lasting impetus to the crops around it; later on, when men began to see active forces behind natural phenomena and to isolate them as Gods, the bringing home of the May-branch was intended to secure the beneficent influence of the Earth-Goddess, the Spirit of Fertilization, by putting the persons or places to be benefited into direct contact with an object in which the divine presence had manifested itself (5).

In mediæval England, as we learn from Chaucer's 'Court of Love', almost the whole population went out early on May morning into the country.

Foorth goth al the Court, both most and lest,
To fetch the flouris fresh, and braunch, and blome.

About the middle of the sixteenth century the custom changed. Householders no longer cut the branch for themselves, but were content to receive it from poor neighbours who were paid for the service of finding it, as in the words of the later mayers' song:

We have been rambling all this night,
And almost all this day:
And now returned back again,
We have brought you a branch of May.
A branch of May we have brought you
And at your door it stands:
It is but a sprout, but it's well budded out,
By the work of our Lord's hands (6).

At Nottingham in the earlier days the Mayor and aldermen rode out into the country to cut the blossoming branch, themselves setting it up in the market-place when they returned (7). In later times they met it in procession. There is an entry in the town accounts for 1541 of money 'peyd for wyne on May Dey, when we rode Mey', and of a gift 'to Master Thomas Schevyngton, when he and other yong men brought in Mey off Mey Dey with Master Meyre'. From about the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the Mayor stayed at home to receive the bough, either on the first day of the month or upon the Sunday following. In 1578 it is again brought in by a youth, who according to the custom of the time, will have been dressed up to represent Maid Marian (8). In 1572, 1576, and 1577 there are payments to certain dancers and gunners 'that dyd bringe in Maye before Maister Maire', and in 1579 as much as eight *lbs.* of powder is shot away in saluting the divine miracle of spring. The dancers are of course the Morris dancers, with their play of Maid Marian, Robin Hood, Little John, Friar Tuck, the Fool, the Hobby Horse, and the 'May game' we hear of in 1583 must be the same dramatic performance.

This, in an earlier form, had been known in the thirteenth century as the 'Game of the King and Queen', under which title Bishop Grossetête forbade it in 1236, and the Council of Worcester in 1240. Later on the two leading personages take from the French *fêtes de Mai* the names of Robin and Marian. Robin becomes confused with his English namesake, the King of the Outlaws (9), and carries Little John, Friar Tuck, with the rest of their company, into the game. These characters of the English comedy are portrayed in a painted window of the late fifteenth century at Betley in Staffordshire, where we have a maypole and six morris dancers, together with a piper, a fool, a friar, a crowned man on a hobby-horse, a crowned lady with a gilly-flower in her hand, the last three representing Friar Tuck, Maid Marian, and Robin Hood. An illustration and description will be found in the edition of Shakespeare's Plays issued in 1778 by Steevens (10). There is also a later representation of a morris dance in a picture of the old Palace of Richmond, painted by

Vinckenboom about 1625, where in the foreground three dancers are shown with Marian, the piper, the fool, and the hobby-horse.*

Other popular plays in which Robin Hood was the principal figure were often substituted for the May Game, and one or two of these seem to have been written for the special purpose of pleasing a Nottingham audience. Amongst the Paston MSS. is a letter of 1473 in which the writer laments the loss of a servant, whom he has kept 'thys iii yer to pleye Seynt Jorge and Robin Hood and the Shryff off Nottyngham'. A fragment of the drama referred to is still in existence, being written on a scrap of paper formerly in the possession of Sir John Fenn, editor of the *Paston Letters*; a second fragment dealing with 'Robin Hood and the Friar', as also part of a third entitled 'Robin Hood and the Potter', were printed by Copeland in the edition of the *Gest of Robyn Hode* published by him about 1550. The 'proud Sheriff' of the ballads was of course Sheriff of the county, not of the town, and his failure to hold the outlaw in prison would cause no grief to the municipal authorities at Nottingham, who would probably consider his interference as an encroachment upon their privileges.

It is the last named of these three popular comedies, namely 'Robin Hood and the Potter' (11), which we may surely identify as one designed to be acted on May Day in the market-place of Nottingham. The dialogue is opened by Robin, who, speaking to his merry men about a certain rose-garlanded potter of the town with whom he had had an awkward encounter, asks whether any one of them will be so bold as to make this proud person pay passage money when he next comes through the forest. Little John declines the task very positively for himself and for the rest, declaring that there is not one amongst them all that dare meddle with the potter, man for man; and offers to wager twenty pounds that Robin himself will fail to enforce the demand. Jacke, the potter's boy, then comes upon the scene.

JACKE. Out, alas, that ever I sawe this daye !
For I am clene out of my waye
From Notyngham towne;

* Reproduced by Douce. See his *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, ii, 456, 463, 468, 472.

If I hye me not the faster,
Or I come there the market wel be done.

Robin Hood enters and examines the crockery.

ROBYN HODE. Let me se, are the pottes hole and sounde?

JACKE. Yea, meister, but they will not breake the ground.

Robin throws down and breaks the pots one by one, the cracking of the defective pieces provided for this purpose affording amusement no doubt to the younger members of the audience. He abuses the boy's master, who coming up unexpectedly is asked to pay toll.

THE POTTER. Why should I paye passage to thee?

ROBYN HODE. For I am Robyn Hode, chiefe governoure
Under the grene-woode tree.

THE POTTER. This seven yere have I used this way up and downe,
Yet payed I passage to no man,
Nor now I wyl not beginne, so do the worst thou can.

ROBYN HODE. Passage shalt thou pai here
Under the grene-wode tre,
Or els thou shalt leve a wedde with me.

THE POTTER. If thou be a good felowe, as men do the call
Lay awaye thy bowe,
And take thy sword and buckeler in thy hande,
And se what shall befall.

A lively round of sword and buckler play must have followed, and though the rest of the dialogue is wanting, we may conjecture that the potter's hand proving as hard as his logic, the famous outlaw had to acknowledge that for once he had met his match.

Another local custom which went back to an immemorial antiquity was that of the Summer Watch. On the night before Midsummer Day and on the even of St. Peter's, a marching column like those ordered in London passed after sunset through the principal streets of the town, with the drummers before them; then broke up into several companies, which kept ward till sunrise. Some of those who attended were in armour, others bore partisans, halberts, muskets or calivers; and the fashion was for every man to wear a garland, bedecked with flowers, both natural and artificial, with ribbons, jewels, &c. made up in the form of a crown imperial. For

this purpose the townsmen on the previous day ransacked not only the gardens of their neighbours but those of all gentlemen residing within a distance of six or seven miles, the greatest ambition of every one being to outdo the others in the bravery of his garland. The order observed in marshalling the pageant is described as follows:

‘In this Town by an ancient Custom they keep a general Watch every Midsummer Eve at Night, to which every Inhabitant of any Ability sets forth a Man, as well Voluntaries as those who are charged with Arms, with such Munition as they have; some Pikes, some Muskets, Calivers, or other Guns, some Partisans, Holberts, and such as have Armour, send their Servants in their Armour. The Number of these are yearly almost two hundred, who at Sun-setting meet on the Row, the most open part of the Town, where the Mayor’s Sergeant at Mace gives them an Oath, the Tenor whereof followeth in these words:

“You shall well and truly keep this Town till To-morrow at the Sun-Rising; You shall come into no House without License or Cause reasonable. Of all Manner of Casualties, of Fire, or crying of Children, you shall due Warning make to the Parties, as the Case shall require. You shall due Search make of all Manner of Affrays, Bloodsheds, Out-crys, and of all other Things that be suspected. You shall due Presentment make of the same, either to Mr. Mayor, the Sheriffs or other Officers. If any Stranger come to the Town, well and demeanably to behave yourself to them courteously, and to entreat them, and to bring them to their Inns, and well and secretly keep the Watch, and other Things that belong to the same Watch, well and truly do, to your Cunning and Power. So help you God.”’

Deering is grievously mistaken in thinking that this custom is of no greater antiquity than the reign of Queen Elizabeth, brought here in imitation of London. Such marching Watches had been devised in a remote antiquity to meet the danger of great city conflagrations caused by that pagan rite of lighting bonfires in the streets and of leaping over them, which is mentioned by Ovid and was condemned by the Council of 680(12). In the Ordinances of Worcester(13), made in 1467, the wardens and members of every pageant-craft in their best harness arrayed are commanded to attend the vigil on St. John’s Eve, with a cresset to be borne before the bailiffs. At London in 1378 there is an order that on the Eves of the Nativity of St. John (24 June) and of St. Peter and Paul (29 June), every alderman together with the good men

of his ward well and sufficiently armed, arrayed in red and white parti-coloured over their armour, shall keep a watch in manner as done heretofore for the honour of the city and for keeping the peace. The contingents met at Smithfield, the different wards being distinguished by the flags attached to their lances, some red, some white, some wreathed or powdered with stars of one colour or of the other; thence they marched with lighted cressets in procession through the streets (14). Lights were shown in many of the houses, and Stow, speaking of his own early days, tells us that:

‘every man’s door being shadowed with green birch, long fennel, St. John-wort, orpin, white lilies, and such like, garnished upon with garlands of beautiful flowers, had also lamps of glass, with oil burning in them all the night.’ ‘Some’, he adds, ‘hung out branches of iron curiously wrought, containing hundreds of lamps lighted at once.’*

The primitive use of these general Watches having been almost forgotten, already in the fourteenth century they had become popular pageants in many of the great Continental cities as well as throughout England. In London one of the objects stated in 1388 is for the ‘view and report of strangers’; this, and the injunction at Nottingham to ‘entreat strangers and bring them to their Inns’, carry one’s mind back to the Midsummer festival at Florence in the thirteenth century, when companies of noble youths marched through the streets in new clothing with garlands of flowers upon their heads and, as we are told, ‘no stranger of good position passed through Florence who was not entertained by the said parties in rivalry against each other, being escorted on horseback through the city or without it, as occasion might demand’ (15).

The Nottingham records mention the Summer Watch in 1486; from 1558 there are frequent entries of payments for playing and drumming before it, or for powder shot away by the gunners. In 1606 it was agreed that the great Watch heretofore used in Midsummer Even and St. Peter’s Even having been slenderly performed, should in future be held only on the former day if fine, or else on the latter; and not

* At St. Mark’s, Venice, there is a chandelier of this kind.

on both evens. In 1638 there is an order 'for the Midsommer even's Watch to be contynewed with garlands as heretofore'. The custom, like that of the gait to Southwell and the visit to St. Anne's Well, was 'quite left off' before 1744, when Deering completed the writing of his book (16).

An entry of about the year 1500 in the Nottingham Red Book mentions other ancient customs in the borough. 'First, hit is an old custom for the Mayre, for the tyme being, to geve his bredren knowledge for to see the game of fyshing,' &c. 'Item, the said Mayre, for the tyme being, in lykewyse to geve them knowledge of every bere baityng and bull baiting within the town, to see the sport of the game after the old custom and usage.' The annual 'game of the fyshing' here referred to, may in its origin have been an assertion of that right of the burgesses to fish in the river Trent, which is mentioned in Domesday. A payment for 'brede ale and fische giffen to the fisshers that laboured about the Maire fisshyng' is entered in the town accounts of 1464, and in 1494 the sport is followed by a municipal dinner. In 1558 as many as six labourers are required to 'drawe the lyne in the watters', and similar items continue to appear until 1579, when the pools are let, a salmon being yearly reserved as payment to the Mayor.

Of bear-baiting we have already spoken. In earlier days a bear was kept at the castle, as is shown by references in 1395 and often afterwards to a place called *Berward-lane*; under Elizabeth the sport was enjoyed not only at the conclusion of mayoral banquets, but on many other occasions when wandering bearwards passed through the town. Bull-baiting was more frequent and hardly less popular; it took place at 'Weekday Cross end' (17) over against the Guildhall at a ring fixed in the ground, the rope to secure the unhappy beast being provided by the Mayoress, who in acknowledgement thereof received the consideration of one shilling from every one who took up the freedom of the borough. According to ancient custom, no butcher might slaughter a bull before it had been baited. In 1572 two shillings are given 'at Maister Mair's comandment for pastyme in beyttyng of a bulle'. A good buckle and collar are bought at various times; in 1580

the bull-ring is mended and threepence is paid 'for dressyng the bulle after the dog'; in 1621 two butchers are fined five shillings each 'for not beting their boules, according to the Statute in y^e case provided'. It has been suggested that the orders passed in the fifteenth century at Cambridge, Leicester, and other towns, provided only for 'baiting', that is to say stall-feeding cattle before slaughter(18); but this interpretation, more merciful to our forefathers than they were to the bull, is negatived by the entry in the Nottingham Red Book, which couples bull- with bear-baiting, and shows that the Mayor, with his brethren the aldermen, was present in order to 'see the sport of the game'.

From the Mayor much public hospitality was required, and in order that he might adequately support the credit of the town, allowances were made to him for the expenses incurred. In accordance with a local and general custom which can be traced back far into the Middle Ages, he welcomed distinguished visitors to Nottingham, such as the French ambassadors, the Lord President of the North, numerous peers, and certain country gentlemen who had rendered service to the inhabitants, by sending a present of wine and sugar to their inns.* Sometimes at his own house he offered 'banqueting' of wine, cakes, fruit, &c. In April 1572 such provision is made for Mistress Stapleton, Mistress Folljambe, Mistress Babington, and several gentlemen who came with them; in January 1608/9 'Maister Maior' bestows 28s. 6d. 'in wyne and banquettinge stuff at his howse upon the enter-taynment of Sir Gervyse Clyfton, his lady and theyr Company'; in 1618 Lord Shrewsbury and on another occasion Lord Rutland, in the following year the Marquess of Hamilton the Lord Chamberlain and their followers, are entertained in like manner. When royal visits were paid to the borough, the Mayor always received at his house the principal officials of the household. Thus in March 1574/5 there is a payment for wine and sugar presented to the General Surveyor, the Controller, with other of the Queen's Officers, 'and for the charges of their dynars at Maister Mer's, alle

* This, no doubt, was for the preparation of the mulled wine, boiled with sugar and cinnamon, which was then so much in favour.

his breththren beinge ther wyth them', and again in 1614 'meales in Maister Mayor's howse' are 'bestowed upon y^e King's servants'.

The Mayor and aldermen had been appointed in 1573 commissioners for the musters, and were responsible for the sixteen gunners or trained soldiers of the town, harnessed in corslet and morion, armed with caliver, sword and dagger, and paid at the rate of eightpence a day. In 1589 the Mayor attends the 'Showe of the Souldiers'—now forty-six in number—at Mansfield; expenses are incurred of eleven shillings 'for Maister Maior's dynner and his companie, beinge in number xxii', and of two shillings and twopence 'for wyne and sugar for hym'. Ale is provided for the soldiers at the fields and at the inns, at their coming to Mansfield and again upon their return to Nottingham.

On other public occasions the Mayor figures not as host but as guest. In 1571 ten shillings are paid for the clerk of the market's charges at Maister Harpham's 'for his dyner, wyne and seuger, Maister Maire and his breththren beinge ther the 6 of Octobar', and in the following year the Mayor and aldermen breakfast in Lent with the Justices of Assize. To every notable wedding in the town or within easy reach of it the Mayor was bidden, and when able to be present he sent a gift to the bride, usually consisting of Gascony or muscadine, sack or claret. Once or twice this present takes the form of some article of food, as in 1573, when six capons and two loaves of sugar are sent 'unto the maryadg of my Lady Clyfton's daughter'. There were also visits at the year's end to the great country houses, where Christmas was kept after the old English fashion with music, feasting, and dancing. Several payments to the officers and servants at Wollaton or Clifton are entered, 'when Maister Maire with his breththren dyd dyne in Chrystmas laste', and on these occasions he and the aldermen were sometimes accompanied by their wives. The Mayoress, in return, either at her own house or elsewhere, made the customary offering of wine to ladies of the Clifton, Harper or Willoughby families, who had shown her such attentions.

In speaking of the social gatherings which helped to

brighten municipal life at Nottingham, one must not forget the attractions of the theatre. Four troops of Nottinghamshire players or actors are mentioned in the records, that is to say those from Annesley, Cropwell, Barton, Selston; two knights of the county, namely Sir John Byron of Colwick ('little Sir John with the great beard') and Sir William Holles of Houghton ('the Good Sir William' who died at a great age in the year 1590), had also players in their employ, who sometimes gave performances in the town. It was visited almost every year by one or two of the more important companies—the King's, the Queen's, the Prince's players; those which acted under the name and patronage of the great peers—Lords Leicester, Monteagle, Essex, Sussex, Shrewsbury, Warwick, Darcy, Mountjoy, Worcester, Strange, Talbot, Derby, Sheffield; or those of county gentlemen such as Sir Richard Stapleton, Sir Francis Smith, Sir Richard Wayneman, and Maister Marcham. During the first half of the reign, payments to the members of the companies named are very common, and though the Chamberlain's accounts for a long period after the year 1592 are not to be found, when these books begin again in 1614 the gifts to the players are as frequent as ever.

In the time of Elizabeth and James dramatic performances were usually given on movable stages or scaffolds erected in the yards of inns, which then usually had wooden galleries running round them on the two upper stories, thus suggesting the form that theatres have ever since retained. Sometimes they took place at the town hall. In 1572 the Corporation of Nottingham erects a scaffold in the Guildhall for the Queen's Players, and in 1577 leave is granted to those of the Earl of Sussex to make use of the same building. Shakespeare, as his biographers have shown, was a member of the Earl of Leicester's Company, which in 1588 became known as 'Lord Strange's', in 1592 as 'The Earl of Derby's', in 1594 as 'Lord Hunsdon's' or 'The Lord Chamberlain's', in 1603 as 'The King's' Players, a Patent under the Great Seal having been granted in the year last named to Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, and others. There is reason to believe that the great poet and dramatist was one of the

actors at the Town Hall of Leicester,* where the hooks and pulley to which the stage curtain was attached are still visible, fixed to one of the beams at the upper end of the room; and it would be very interesting if we could show that he was seen also upon the stage at Nottingham.

In a book entitled *English Dramatic Companies* Mr. John T. Murray has traced the history of every individual association of players from 1587 to 1616, giving in each case the names of the different provincial towns in which they acted and the dates of their performances. He does not name Nottingham amongst the places visited by Shakespeare's company, but has missed one very material fact, namely that in April 1615 'The King's Players' received in that city a gift of 13s. 4d. from the Mayor and Corporation as a reward(19).

It is possible that Shakespeare, who must have known the place well, having lodged there so often on his way from one part of the kingdom to another, may have been present on this occasion in 1615 with the company of which he was a leading member. His acting days were then at an end, but Sir Sidney Lee informs us that until the close of his career he 'regularly accompanied his company' when it was summoned to perform at Court, as not unfrequently happened. Shakespeare and his fellow players 'never passed beyond York, which they visited twice', and we are told that certain towns, amongst which Nottingham is mentioned, 'did not invite the company's return after a first experience'. Apparently the old English love of art and beauty had been submerged at last by the rising tide of Puritanism.

Besides these presents to the players, the Chamberlain's books record a number of smaller payments which show that the Middle Ages were not yet over. Jugglers play before Mr. Mayor. Tumblers perform their antics. Men carrying apes or other strange beasts come to his house. Blind harpers receive a fee. The King's or Queen's Jester has his reward. Dancers come to 'gather', either for themselves or for some public object, such as the bridge at Clifton. Bearwards who are licensed to wander about the country with bears and to

* His company was there in August 1587, in the early months of 1593/4, and again in August 1606.

bait the same—Lord Shrewsbury's, Lord Monteagle's, Lord Voose's, Sir Fowke Greffen's, the Queen's Majesty's, Lord Derby's—give exhibitions of their sport in front of the Guildhall. The waits from various towns—Derby, Codnor, Leicester, Coventry, Grantham, Manchester, Chesterfield, Newark, Retford, Wakefield, Pontefract, Leeds, York, Barton upon Humber—are upon their travels and, passing through Nottingham, entertain the Mayor with instrument and song. In October his public dinner at the Guildhall is enlivened by music and jesting. At Christmas or the New Year the minstrels retained by neighbouring landowners—Maister Stanhope, Sir Bryan Tucke, Maister Shirley, Lord Dacre, Sir John Constable, Sir Humphrey Winfield, my Lord Willoughby, Sir John Gresley, Maister Forman, Mistress Leech—make melody at the Guildhall or in the street, and are sometimes accompanied by mummers or by riders upon the hobby-horse. On Easter Sunday the Mayor and aldermen keep open house for every inhabitant of their respective wards who may come to feast and drink with them, and on the following day, with the Waits playing before them, the Corporation march to their outing at St. Anne's Well. On the first of May the dancers and gunners bring in their branch of hawthorn, and the rustic comedy of Robin Hood is acted in the Weekday Market. At Whitsuntide there are Morris dances to the tune of jingling bells or clashing swords, and the Corporation in their best liveries ride out to Southwell to take part in the procession. At Midsummer, to the sound of drum and music and gunfire, the marching Watches pass through the streets in armour with garlands on their heads. At Michaelmas, when the wheel has turned full compass, the Waits lead the outgoing Mayor in procession to St. Mary's for the burial of the mace, and at the feasting that follows he is the most honoured guest.

CHAPTER VII

RICHARD HURT OF NOTTINGHAM.

WE must now return from this general survey of life at Nottingham in the reign of Elizabeth to the particular Mayor in whom we are interested. Richard Hurt resided in the Long Row, at the house for which we find his son paying the assessment in July 1643. Here stood some of the oldest inns, such as the Bull's Head, the Unicorn, and the Green Dragon, overlooking the largest open space in the town, where, as we have seen, the Midsummer Watch and the town soldiers held their musters and on Saturdays or fair-days crowds gathered together about the stalls and booths of the smaller tradesmen. These houses on the north side of the Saturday Market were remarkable for the great cellars and other apartments excavated in the rock below them: Cowlane Bar, where Anne of Denmark was received in 1603, and Thurland Hall, where King James lodged during half a dozen visits to Nottingham, were but a few yards away.

Mr. Hurt seems to have settled at Nottingham about the year 1575, when he was not less than sixteen and not more than twenty-two years old. He was probably engaged like his stepfather, Richard Senior, in the manufacture and sale of cloth, but had also a salt-work, with several corn and malt mills at Redford or Nottingham, and speculated largely in minerals. Amongst the Acts of the Privy Council in 1592 is an order to John Manners and others to deliver to Richard Hurt of Nottingham lead and lead-ore to a great value, which upon the presentment of Mr. Thomas FitzHerbert had been seized in riotous manner by sixty persons and (notwithstanding that twenty-four of the said persons had been indicted of the riot at the last Derby Assizes) was still wrongfully detained by the said FitzHerbert, 'presuming on a protection from her Majestie, whereby he supposeth himselfe to be exempte from suite of law'. Unfortunately the Assize Roll, which might

have supplied much interesting detail, is not to be found at the Record Office. In 1582-3 Mr. Hurt was elected Sheriff, in 1594-5 Alderman, his ward being apparently that afterwards known as the Market Ward, in which he resided, extending 'into Long Rowe from Shepe Lane to Cowlane, Smythy Rowe, Cowe Lane and Tymberhulle'. He first served as Mayor in 1595-6, that is to say for the twelvemonth commencing 29 September 1595. Of this year of office a splendid memorial may yet be seen and heard at Nottingham, the fifth bell (now the ninth) of the 'very musical' peel at St. Mary's having his name upon it. It is described in the Transactions of the Thoroton Society for the year 1915 as a magnificent bell, 51 inches in diameter, with four impressions of the royal arms of Elizabeth, three rows of decoration, and founder's mark of Henry Oldfield, *junior*. An excellent illustration will be found in H. B. Walter's *Church Bells of England*. The full inscription is as follows (1):

Tutuba sic sonitu domini conduco cohortes.*

Richard Hurte *Maior*.

Nicholas Sherwin, Richard Johnsun, *Wardens*.

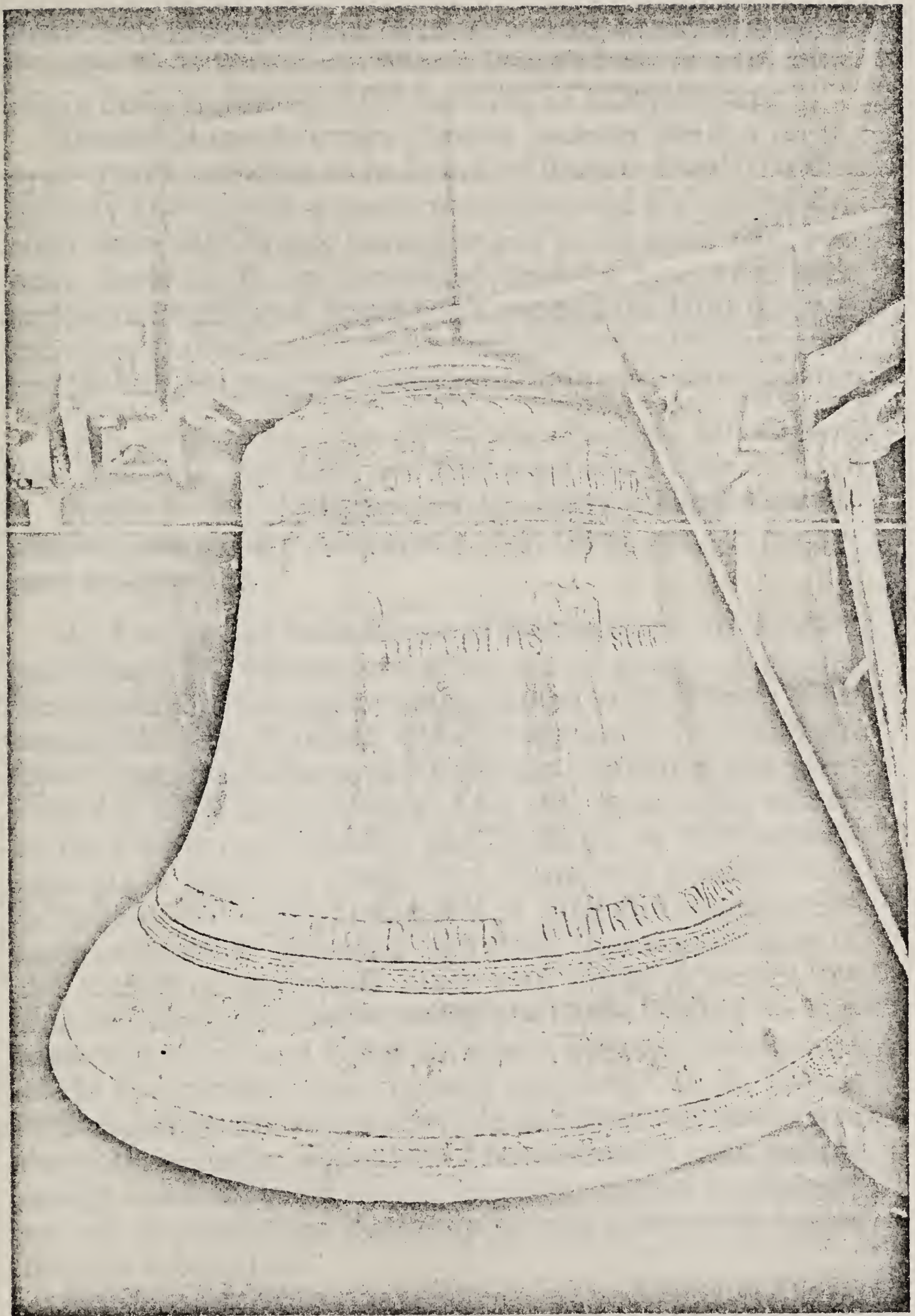
John Gregorie,

Robert Alvie, Peter Clarke, Humphrey Bonner,

Richarde Morehaghe, Anker Jackson, Aldermen 1595.

This bell, which must have rung in Mr. Hurt's second and third mayoralties in 1602 and 1609, which may have tolled at his funeral, still peals out on Sundays its trumpet-call to the battalions of the godly. The founder, Henry Oldfield junior (1582-1619), had at the time as assistant or partner, Henry Dand, whose daughter Joan was the wife of Mr. Hurt's step-brother, William Senior of Nottingham (2); these two had cast a bell for Shrewsbury Abbey Church in 1591. The bells of Oldfield and his assistants, Robert Quarnby and Henry Dand, are very numerous in Nottinghamshire and the adjoining counties. They are usually inscribed in quasi-mediæval style, with Gothic capitals or in mixed lettering and a profusion of crosses and other marks, including the

* *Tutuba*, though unknown to the classical dictionaries, is a good mediæval Latin word meaning a trumpeter. The line may be translated: 'Thus do I, the trumpeter of the Lord, sound the assembly for his battalions.'



THE BELL OF 1595

(Richard Hurt's name will be seen in the upper line of inscription)

Royal Heads and William Rufford's cross, acquired by this foundry from Worcester. Henry Dand's bells in particular might easily be mistaken for the work of an earlier time.

'Richard Hurte, hys man Thomas Jackson' heads a list in 1596-7 of 'Corselettes to be found by Pryvate Men'. To the Subsidy Roll of 1608-9 the former is assessed at £4 in goods, eight other inhabitants having to pay at the same rate, but none above it. In the household book of 1599-1600 preserved amongst Lord Middleton's papers, Mr. Hurt is twice mentioned as dining at Wollaton with Sir Percival Willoughby and his lady, the daughter and heir of Sir Francis Willoughby:

'1599. August 24. Mr. Hurtt, Mr. Freman, Mr. Greves, Mr. Tomlenson, Mr. Hill, and their wyves dyned hear.'

'October 4. Mr. Repington and Mr. Henre Willughby and his daughter came to super with iii men. Mr. Hurtt and Mr. Hacker came to dinner' (3).

Mr. Freman had been Mayor of Nottingham; Mr. Greves was Sheriff, Mr. Hacker, one of the county gentry. It should be noticed that the supervisor appointed in Mr. Hurt's Will, namely Mr. John Waldron, was a connexion of the Willoughbys. Thomas Charleton and Nicholas Charleton also mentioned in his Will and in that of his son, were nearly related to the Handleys of Handley and Bramcote in Nottinghamshire (4), a family to which Mrs. Hurt may possibly have belonged. The noble dining-hall of Wollaton, three stories high—the first of panelling with deers' heads fixed upon it, the second of stonework hung with family portraits, the third of traceried windows raised above the level of the surrounding rooms and filling the spaces between the brackets of the open timber roof—is yet in existence.* In Sir Francis Willoughby's day the household consisted of forty-eight servants, including a fool with a female fool as well, and the stately ritual followed by the servers at dinner is minutely set out in regulations drawn up by him a few years before the date referred to.

In 1602-3 Mr. Hurt was again serving as Mayor, and must

* See the interior view with figures in Nash's *Mansions*. Wollaton was built by Sir Francis in 1580-8.

have proclaimed from the steps of the Weekday Cross the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James. In June 1603, when the new Queen with Prince Henry passed through Nottingham on her way to the coronation with a 'glorious attendance' of peers and great ladies,* he was present at the town gate to receive the royal party and presented on behalf of the Corporation a cup of silver three-quarters of a yard high.

'Memorandum, that Queen Ann and Henry her son the yonge Prince on Tuesday the 21st of June, 1603, in their travill from Newsted to London, came through this town of Nottyngham, and on the [pavem]ent at the Cow Lane† end Richard Hurtt, then Major, Richard Parkyns, esqr, then Recorder, the Aldermen, Councell, and Cloathyng in there scarlett gowns, and forty of the best commoners carrying holberts, Her Majesty was there receaved with an oration made by the Recorder, expressing the most happy benefyt of Her Highnes' presence and delightfull aspect of Her Royal [issue] etc.; which being ended, Maister Mayor presented unto her a large cup with a cover of silver, 3 partes of a yard high, and of the value of 22ll. 11., and lykewise gave to the yonge Prince a . . . purse with 20 double sovereigns in it, the purse being of the value of 20s. This being done, the Mayor carryed the [purse] before the Queen and the Prince, and the cup lykewise was . . . ent before the Queene' (5).

From Nottingham the Queen went on to Wollaton, the seat of Sir Percival Willoughby. Mr. Hurt, when his second year of office was over, was chosen at the Guildhall to represent the borough in that Gunpowder Treason Parliament which met on the 19th March 1603/4, and was dissolved on the 9th February 1610/11. The official record is lost, but Deering (6) quotes as follows from the fourth part of Mr. Prynne's Register of Parliamentary Writs:

'James I. Parliament at Westminster. Burgesses for the Town, Ric. Hart, alderman, Ank. Jackson, alderman.' There

* The names are given in Echard's *History*.

† Cow Lane, now known as Clumber Street, is shown (No. 55) on the map given by Thoroton; here, at the northern entrance to the borough, stood an ancient Bar or gateway of stone, with a timber house above it, which in 1590 was in need of repair or renovation. The Bar itself was presented in 1621 as in great decay and ready to fall. At the Cow Gate in August 1634 Charles I and his Queen were received by the then Mayor, who presented each of the royal visitors with a piece of plate. It would seem that this entrance to the town stood always open, for in April 1643, when the Civil War made protection desirable, gates had to be ordered for Chapel Bar and Cowlane Bar. In 1646 the only watch kept was at the former, and in April 1649 the Corporation took the latter down. Deering in 1751 writes that 'where now a Middle Row of Houses is built at the End of Cow-lane, there stood a Gate facing the North, and the Town Wall is still to be seen in the Cellars of these Houses'.

was of course no alderman of the name of Hart, and that Alderman Hurt is the person referred to is clearly proved by an entry quoted in the Records of Nottingham(7):

'January 13, 1605/6. Ytt is agreed, by the greater voyces, that Maister Maior and Maister Hurtt shall have xx.li. for theyr chardges past att the last session of Parlyament; and they to take in theyr wrytts from the shreiffes; which 20 li. ys to be payd in this wyse, videlicet, 10 li. this day fortnight, and other 10 li. 20 dayes after our Lady Day next.'

The design of Guy Fawkes and his fellow conspirators was on the 5th November 1605, when the King, Queen, Prince, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons should be assembled together in the Upper House for the opening of the new session, to destroy them all at a blow. But mysterious warnings sent to one or two peers and commoners who were of the Catholic faith or had shown themselves tolerant towards it, led to the detection of the plot. At midnight of the 4th, a few hours before the opening of Parliament, Fawkes was arrested in his cellar under the House of Lords, where thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were found concealed under sea-coal and faggots. This event seems to have made a deep and lasting impression at Nottingham,* as elsewhere throughout the kingdom, for in 1631 a former inhabitant of the borough left a sum of money for the endowment of a sermon to be preached annually in St. Peter's church for evermore, 'giving thanks for the miraculous deliverance and preservation of the land and people from that unmatched plot of the *Gunpowder Treason*, which was intended against this Kingdom and state in *November, 1605.*' The condition of the bequest continued to be observed; indeed in 1640 the then Rector, Mr. Cotes, as appears by a curious entry upon the parish register, seems to have exhausted himself, if not his congregation, in the endeavour to do justice to the wickedness of the Papists.

'Jeremy the 48, var. 13, was the last texte Mr. Cotes did ever preach upon the 5th of November, 1640.'

* Father Henry Garnett, executed for his connexion with the plot, may have spent some years of his childhood at Nottingham, where his father taught in the free school.

'Mr. Cotes, that faithful minister of Christ, began this texte upon the 5th of November; and on the same continued until the 15th of the same month, and dyed* before hee finished it; and like a dying swan did sing most sweetly before his death, and having finished his course hee hath received a crown of immortal glory, which the lord of glory had prepared for him and for all those that wait for his appearing.'

Mr. Hurt's third mayoralty was in 1609-10, so (like Anker Jackson in 1605) he was for some time both Mayor and Member. In the early months of 1610 Nottingham suffered from one of those visitations of the Plague which were then not uncommon, and the Mayor's account of money raised by assessment and by the benevolence of knights, ladies, and gentlemen lying in the town, shows an expenditure of £50 16s. 'for the charges of the visited† and watchmen in the town and at the plains, at the Newhouse and under the Castle'. It is possible that he sat again in the Parliament which was summoned to meet on the 5th April 1613, and was dissolved two months later. Prynne's list has the words 'Elected but lost', and the Parliamentary record can only state 'No return found'. The position was already much coveted, and when thrown open to non-residents a few years later, members of the leading county families competed to secure it. In February 1623/4 the 'Suitors for Burgesses places for the Parliament' were 'Sir Charles Cavendishe, My Lord Darcy's sonne, Maister John Byron, Maister Lassells, Maister Henry Willoughbie, Maister Bowne, Maister Tevery, Sir George Chaworthe, Maister Edward Ascough', and the celebrated John Selden. Sir Charles Cavendish and Mr. Bowne headed the poll.

On the first page of the Heralds' Visitation of Nottinghamshire, made in 1614, Mr. Hurt is named as senior alderman of the borough(8). His eldest son, Richard Hurt the younger, is mentioned in the Derbyshire Visitation of 1634 as having married (probably early in the year 1611) a sister of Thomas Draper of Culland, the representative of an ancient family which held that place in the fifteenth century and is named in the so-called 'List of Gentry' of 1433. This marriage and the education of Mr. Hurt's younger son at Trinity College,

* 28 November.

† Plague-stricken.

Cambridge, seem to show that he had the ambition to found a county family, as not a few of his predecessors in office had done. Arms would undoubtedly have been allowed to him if he had made application in 1614, and it is a pity that he did not take out a confirmation of the ancient coat of Hurt of Ashbourne or a new grant.

In August 1614, Mr. Hurt acted as chairman of the committee appointed to view the highways and passages about the town, in preparation for the second visit of King James, who lodged at Thurland Hall at the east end of the Long Row, and, as already mentioned, paid a visit to St. Anne's Well. In January or early in February 1615/16 he died (9), and was buried at St. Mary's, probably in the nave, where so many Mayors of Nottingham had found a last resting-place.* 'In the Body of the Church', says Deering, 'are many Grave-stones, among the rest those of several Aldermen of the Corporation'; elsewhere he repeats that 'in the Middle Isle and the Body of the Church are several very large Grave-stones, which have been covered with Brass Plates, but these being torn off by the soldiers during the Civil War, it is not to be known who was buried under them'.

The name of the younger Richard Hurt often occurs in the borough records after the death of his father. When King James came again to Nottingham, in August 1616, he was one of the forty principal inhabitants in black gowns who were present with the Corporation and Clothing to receive the King. The arrangements were much the same as at the previous visits. There was a guard of forty men in cloaks and halberds, a night watch of thirty-four. Payments were made to the Knight-marshal, Knight-harberger and yeomen, to the sergeants-at-arms, footmen, trumpeter, coachman, sword-carrier; and 1s. 6d. is entered for carriage and re-carriage of tables. In the following year Mr. Hurt was elected Sheriff, but declined to serve, having evidently no desire to take part in municipal or parliamentary affairs, and

* Leland has preserved the names of two: '*Robert Englysbe* and *Thomas Thirland*, Maiors of Nottingham and riche Marchaunts, buryed in S. Marie's Churche.' The tombs of John Samon, John de Tannesley, and Thomas Thurland, who held office in 1361-2, 1399-1400, 1442-3, also an effigy of Richard Samon junior, who died in 1427, may still be seen there.

regretting, it may be, the sums of money expended upon such matters by his father.

Since the loss of Calais in 1558 Nottingham had been living not so much by the profits of commerce as upon accumulations of past wealth. Thoroton speaks of it in 1677 as 'destitute of any gainful or beneficial trade', and from the very beginning of the seventeenth century we have evidence that the town was growing poorer. In April 1601, there is an order that the 'drynkinge and feastinge with the Aldermen att theyr howses on Easter Day by theyr wholl Wardes shall from hence furthe cease, and be no more used in tymes to come'. In 1606, the allowances to the Mayor are fixed at £40 a year. There are difficulties in maintaining the annual excursion to St. Anne's Well, the marching Watch on the Even of St. Peter. The town butts are not repaired. The Waits fail to obtain the usual gratuities and are presented for not making their rounds in the day-time. From 1614, burgesses can hardly be found who will undertake the burden of the sheriff's dinner. With the gradual decay of the town the mayoral office has lost prestige and is no longer the object of a life's ambition.

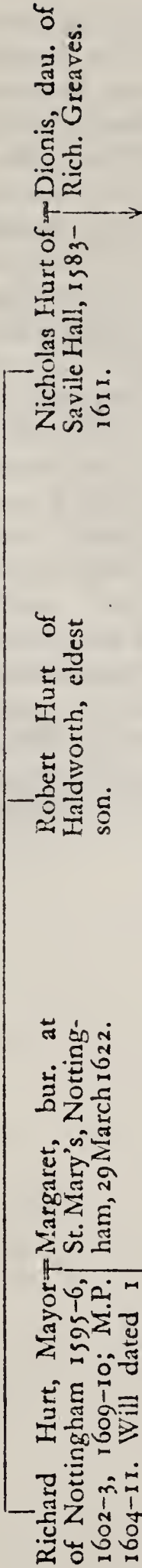
On the 31st March 1617, Maister Rockett and Maister Hurtt are called to submit themselves and pay their fines for not making their sheriff's dinner, which is £10 according to a former and ancient order. 'And Maister Hurtt hath verie dutyfully submitted himselfe to the saied order, and he ferrethe himselfe to the howse to be ordered by them touching the payment thereof.'

To the assessment of 28 July 1643, made by order of the Parliament when the Civil War was raging, 'Maister Hurte' pays £3 for his house in the Long Row. His sympathies, if not his active assistance, must have been on the loyal side, and like many other inhabitants of Nottingham he may have suffered in his fortune. He died early in 1646, and in 1652 his only surviving son, Thomas Hurt, then aged 23, had removed to Mountsorrel in Leicestershire. An abstract of the two Wills is appended.

1 January 1615/16, Richard Hurte the elder, Alderman of Nottingham. To be buried in St. Mary's Church. Reference to an indenture

V. THE HURTS OF NOTTINGHAM.

Walter Hurt of Hald-
worth, m. before 11
Feb. 1545/6, bur. at
Bradfield, 5 Feb. 1560/1.



12

Richard Hurt, gent. of the Long Rowe, Nottingham, md. before 1612. Will dated 20 Dec. 1645.

Walter.

Thomas Hurt, bapt. 17 Nov. 1596. Some-time a scholar at Trinity College, Cambridge.

Lucy, wife of Rich. Bonde of Leeke.
Helen, bapt. 17 May 1594. Adm. granted 10 Oct. 1622.
Ales, bapt. 8 Dec. 1601.

Thomas Hurt, bapt. 27 Aug. 1629. In 1652 of Mountsorrel, co. Leicester.

Richard, bapt. 8 Feb. 1611/12.

James, bapt. 2 July, 1615, d. before Dec. 1645.

Margaret, bapt. 19 June 1618. Susanna, in 1652 wife of John Shepperd.
Mary, bapt. 31 Aug. 1631.
Anne, bapt. 25 Aug. 1633. Helen.

'between me the said Richard Hurte and James Draper of Culland co. Derby, gentleman, and Richard Hurte my son and heir, and Susannah daughter of the said James Draper, whereby it was agreed that if I and my wife Margaret should die within seven years after the date thereof, then the sum of £500 should be paid after my decease; but if we both lived, then the sum of £200.' To my son Walter Hurte, £100. To my son Robert Hurte, £100. To be divided among my younger children, viz. Helen, Lucy and Thomas Hurte, £300. To my son, Richard Hurte, my mill at Radford called Kirke Milne. To each of my grandchildren, six shillings and eightpence. To each of my daughters already married, forty shillings; the residue to Margaret my wife and Richard my son, and they to be Executors. Thomas Charleton and Mr. John Waldron, supervisors. Proved 25 April 1616, at York.

20 December 1645. Richard Hurt, gentleman, of the town and county of Nottingham. To be buried in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Nottingham. To my son Thomas Hurt, all that capital messuage in the Long Rowe wherein I now dwell, when he is 21, and till then a rent of £10 therefrom. To my daughter Margaret Hurt, a water-corn mill in Radforde called the Neither Mill alias Keighley Mill. To my daughters, Susanna, Mary and Anne Hurt, other water-corn mills in Radforde. To my daughter, Helen Hurt, three cottages at Nottingham in Walkergate and six acres of land, the latter for life only. To my good friends Nicholas Charlton, Esquire, and John Coombe, gentleman, ten shillings each. The residue to be equally divided amongst my five daughters. Proved at York.

CHAPTER VIII

SAVILE HALL IN DODWORTH

NICHOLAS HURT, youngest son of the first Walter Hurt of Haldworth, was baptized at Bradfield on the 21st August 1560. The name given to him in baptism was that of his godfather, Nicholas Birley of the Yews, who again derived it from his maternal grandfather, Nicholas Eyre of Hope. With one exception, every head of that house from 1320 to 1520 had borne the name of their patron saint, 'Sainte Nicholas Quere' (1) in the church of Hope being the place both of their baptism and burial. That Nicholas Hurt also was descended from the Eyres through his father or mother, or through both, is likely enough, but the only connexion which can be proved is that of his wife Dionis Greaves, her mother having been one of the Grainfoot branch of the family, while her grandmother was a daughter of Nicholas Eyre of Hope (2).

Walter Hurt the father, who died only six months later, had made by Will or otherwise some provision of landed property for the child, as is shown by the memorandum already quoted in Chapter IV, with its catalogue of evidences. Nicholas, as his handwriting clearly indicates, received a good education, perhaps at the college or grammar-school of Rotherham, where his eldest brother was brought up, and where there is every reason to believe his own son, grandson, and great-grandson also had in later times their schooling. The building, described by Leland as a 'very faire College sumptuously builded of brike', was originally in the form of a quadrangle, surrounded by walls some twelve feet high of small, fine brickwork almost like enamel, in which the figure of the Cross was set at regular intervals in blocks of another colour. A gate-house six yards in length by four in breadth with two little turrets thereunto annexed all covered with lead marked the entrance; on the east side was a chapel with

a crested roof containing in length eighteen yards and in width, on either side of the roof, five yards; on the west, a chamber with a like roof twelve yards in length by ten in breadth. Within the quadrangle were a garden and orchard of about two acres, and near by was a house wherein the three schools were kept and taught.

This was the College founded in 1475 by Archbishop Rotherham, who mentions in his Will that he had himself been educated by a teacher of Grammar, 'who came to Rotherham by I know not what fate, but I believe that it was by the grace of God he came thither, who taught me and other youths, whereof others with me reached higher stations'. The foundation consisted of a Provost and three Fellows, of whom one was to teach a Grammar school within the town for all that came to it, the second a writing school, the third a school of singing in plain and prick song. The scholars were to be 'occupied with grammar, music, singing, the art of writing, hearing the Bible, studying in the library, or hearing some instruction from the Provost'; rhetoric and poetry were also apparently included in the course. The Archbishop bequeathed to the College many pieces of plate and a number of gorgeous vestments, including 'one mitre of clothe of goold, having two silver knoppes enameld, given to be used by the Barnes-bishop'.

In 1549 Thomas Snell was master of 'the Grammar Schole in the seid College'. A year later the Archbishop's foundation was dissolved under the Act for the suppressing of Chantries, Colleges, and Guilds; but the Grammar School fortunately escaped, being rescued from the spoilers. Its survival is proved by the decree of Elizabeth which states that in 1548 the Commissioners had appointed that a certain Grammar School which long before was continually kept in Rotherham, should still be held there. It would appear by an entry in the College Grants that the school was kept in the grounds of the dismantled College, and in 1583 we hear of it again as 'one house or building called the School-House in the street called Jesus-gate'. Eight years later the College was in the hands of Lord Shrewsbury, and being out of repair, 'few persons and sometimes none at all, of long time

dwelling therein', was used as a malt-house. A writer of 1591, who had himself been educated at the school, tells us how it survived through these troublous times. 'As soon as the said house was dissolved, neither Preacher nor Master was provided, but the Town hired the Master for the Schole many years after, until they made (petition) unto the Queen's Majesty, and obtained £10 yearly toward the finding of the Schole Master for the Grammar Schole.' Throughout the seventeenth century the country gentlemen of the district continued to send their sons to the school, and as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century an annual gathering was still held of the pupils who had proceeded from it to St. John's College at Cambridge. Some also must have gone on to Lincoln College, Oxford, where Archbishop Rotherham, the founder, had reserved two fellowships for scholars born in his native town.

It was probably here that Nicholas Hurt learnt the pretty Italian hand which appears in later signatures, and picked up the mental training which helped him to make his way in life. On the 9th March 1579/80, when only twenty years old, he witnesses at Middle Colmes in Bradfield a deed by William Senior of Nottingham, son and heir of Richard Senior of Middle Colmes.* Two years later, on the 22nd December 1583, he married Dionis Hedeley of Savile Hall in Silkston, a young widow probably just of his own age,† and a near connexion, two of her brothers having married into the family of Revell, as had also two brothers-in-law of Robert Hurt, elder brother of Nicholas. It must have been a love-match on her side, for the portion of Nicholas cannot but have been a small one, and Dionis was in a position to choose for herself. She was a daughter of Richard Greaves of Morewood in Bradfield, grandson of another Richard

* In the collection of Canon Wilson of Bolsterstone. Nicholas will have been staying with Richard Senior, or with his brother Walter Hurt of Middle Colmes.

† It would seem that Nicholas had also married before, for the Bradfield Register under date of 1583 has: 'Arculis, son of Nycolas Hurt, buryed ye vth day of October.' I presume he was left a widower with one young child. 'Arculis' stands for Hercules, but the form of the name being unusual, some transcribers have misread it as 'Francis', while the Rev. A. B. Browne, Rector of Bradfield, has given it in his publication of the Registers as 'Arenlis'. The Rector subsequently wrote to me that having examined the entry with a large magnifying glass, he was convinced that the name is 'Arculis'.

Greaves whose brother, Thomas Greaves or Greve of Rotherham,* had a grant of arms in 1521; and was seventh in descent from William Greaves of Westmonhalgh, living 1418. The family had twice intermarried with the Swifts of Rotherham; and, as already related, both her mother and grandmother came of the Eyres of Hope(3). The first husband of Dionis, Richard Hedeley,† of Savile Hall, to whom she was married at Bradfield on the 13th June 1579, died in February 1581/2. By his Will, which was dated 24 February 1581 and proved at York 25 October 1582, he left her a third of all his goods, a third of all his lands, being half of what he then had in occupation, together with the government both of land and goods until Thomas, their infant son, came of age.

Savile Hall in Dodworth, where Mr. and Mrs. Hurt lived for twenty-eight years, from 1583 to 1611, was an interesting old manor-house, the earliest seat of the great house of Savile. The lordship of 'Doddewrte', situate between Silkston and Barnsley, had been given by Robert de Lacy in the reign of William Rufus to the monks of his newly-founded Priory of Pontefract 'for the support of their horses and those of their guests'. At that time it was in demesne, no subinfeudations having taken place. Robert's gift was afterwards confirmed by Hugo de la Val, King Henry being a witness. Later on, Richard and William, sons of 'Wlf de Doddewrd', had a manor there, with free tenants holding under them.

Two places named 'Savile' are to be found on the frontier of Anjou, from one or other of which the ancestor of the family, according to Hopkinson and Johnston, came to Eng-

* Hunter says that it appears by deeds relating to lands in Bradfield that Edward Greaves of Shenley, co. Herts. (grandson of Thomas Greve of Rotherham) was of the Greaves of this neighbourhood. He quotes a deed of 14 March 1536, whereby Robert Swyft Senior and Robert Swyft Junior convey to John Coldwell a messuage in Waldershelf in Bradfield, which they have of the feoffment of Thomas Greaves of Shenley, gent. (*Fam. Min. Gent.* 803). George Greve, or Greaves, of Shenley, entered his pedigree in the Hertfordshire Visitation of 1579. See Harleian MS. 1504, fos. 54b and 78b.

† A pedigree is given in the Appendix. The family had long been settled at Silkston. William de Hethyley is found there as a free-tenant in 1229-30. Amongst the Wilson Charters was one of 1339, by which Ralf *filius Petri de Hethyley de Dodworth* gave to Robert his son and Isabel, daughter of Richard de Smytheley, all his lands in Dodworth. Though they did not purchase the Hall until 1573, Richard Hedeley was holding it by lease in 1540-1. Thomas 'Hegley' was bailiff of Barnsley in 1534-5. See Roland Jackson's *History of Barnsley*, 89, and B.M. Addit. MS. 24467, fo. 362.

VI. THE GREAVES OF HALDWORTH.

22

Richard Greaves of Stan-
nington, 4th in descent from
Will. G. living 1418. Will
proved 12 May 1520.

Thomas Greaves, = Dorothy, dau. of
(the T. G. of Rother-
ham, who had a grant
of Arms in 1521?).

Robert Greaves of Hald-
worth, d. 2 July 1546. Will
dated 21 June, proved 3 Sept.
1546.

Thomas Greaves, = Margery, dau. of
Swift of Rother-
ham.

Richard Greaves of More-
wood in Bradfield. Aged
50, 1573. Will dated 4 Oct.
1588, proved 28 July 1589.

Robert Greaves, son = Frances, dau. & h. of
& h. Living 1592. Will. Revell of Dunga-
worth, 8th in descent
from W. R. living 1379

Ralph Greaves = Beatrice, dau. of
of Morewood. Rob. Revell, bapt.
Will dated 26 23 April 1570,
Oct. 1608, proved m. d. 27 August
4 May 1609. 1593.

Dionis, widow = Nicholas Hurt.
of Rich. Hede-
ley of Savile
Hall.

See *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 544-5, 800-3, and the collections of Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty.

land in the train of Geoffrey Plantagenet. The early descent of the Saviles has been ably dealt with in an article lately published in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*,* but the writers commence with Sir Henry de Savile (1222-6) of Golcar in Dewsbury, which he is supposed to have obtained by marriage, and can find no trace of his father nor of any earlier ancestor. They reject as mythical the statement made in the latter half of the fifteenth century by Brompton, namely that a Richard de Savile was present as a tenant in chief at the coronation of Richard *Cœur de Lion* in 1189. 'When the Saviles came into Yorkshire,' they go on to say, 'and whence they derived their surname, are problems as to which, in the absence of any evidence, we can only make guesses.'

The present writer is fortunately in a position to supply the evidence required. It is true that the Saviles were only mesne tenants, but there was living at the time named by Brompton a Richard de Savile who seems to have settled in Yorkshire in consequence of his marriage to Iclonia de Normanville, sister of the Ralph de Normanville who is sometimes found in the company of King Richard. At the Yorkshire Visitation of 1584-5 the heralds were shown a charter of about 1250, whereby Ralph de Normanville gave with his daughter, Margery, to Ralph de Reresby, all the land which Ralph de Seiwel (a common form of the surname) had held of the gift of Ralph de Normanville, which was given with Iclonia his mother in free marriage(4). This land was at Brinsworth, of which the Normanvilles were lords. Ralph de Savile had apparently died without issue early in the reign of Henry III. As 'Ralph son of Richard de Savile' he gave with his body to the monks of Roche half a carucate at Brinsworth which Peverel held, and Templeborough in the territory of Brinsworth, Peter de Wadworth being a witness.†

In the time of Henry III, Henry de Savile and Richard his brother witness a Newmarch charter concerning Bolton, where the Normanvilles also had a manor(5), and in 1269 Sir Robert de Wilgeby, a near relation of the Reresbys and Normanvilles, attests a settlement of disputes between the

* Vol. xxviii, pp. 380-416.

† Aveling's *History of Roche Abbey*, p. 147.

Priory of Pontefract and the cell of Monk Bretton. Henry de Savile, to whom in 1225 the two rectors of Dewsbury granted a chapel in his mansion at Golcar, is supposed to be the same Henry who gave lands near Barnsley to the monks of Pontefract and witnessed in 1222 the charter of Edusa de Barnsley. An inquisition taken in 1285-6, while his son Sir John was yet living, shows that the latter held Golcar, Skelbroke, Smeaton, Thurlston, or lands at all those places. He is witness to an early charter at Rockley, near Savile Hall.



SIR RALPH DE NORMANVILLE
from the glass at Thrybergh

The writers of the article in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* are convinced that Henry de Savile was brother to a Ralph who died without issue, and it is reasonable to suppose that this latter is the person whose land at Brinsworth reverted to the Normanvilles at his death. These circumstances lead one to conjecture that Richard married twice, receiving with his second wife a property at Dodworth held of the Priory of Pontefract, and as Pontefract was subject to the foreign house of La Charité sur Loire, it is in that part of the world that the place from which the Saviles derived their surname should be looked for. The connexion with Silkston and Dodworth is very strongly marked.

Contemporary with Henry de Savile or a little later we

find a Richard de Savill, who describes himself as son of *Hugo Pincerna de Sandal*, giving an oxgang in Silkston to the monks of Pontefract; a Walter de Savile owns lands at Wigfall in Worsborough; Baldwin and Thomas Savile appear as witnesses to undated charters formerly in the possession of the Brookes of Dodworth; and a John son of Thomas Savile de Dodworth conveys a messuage in that place to Robert de Pyllowe.

At Michaelmas 1301 John son of Peter de Savile, who Hunter says was son of Sir John Savile already mentioned and 'undoubtedly ancestor of the Mexborough family', attached William Prior of Pontefract to answer why, in spite of the King's prohibition, he had distrained him to do suit at his court of Barnsley from three weeks to three weeks, for certain tenements which he held in Dodworth of the said Prior by fealty and by service of 10s. a year. By a charter dated *apud Seyvill hall in crastino sanctæ Trinitatis*, 4 Edw. fil. Edw. (1311), Thomas son of Baldwin de Savile gives to Thomas de Mounteney and Constance his wife 'my manor in the township of Dodworth called Seyvile Hall'. This Baldwin is represented by Hopkinson to have been brother of Peter. The pedigree seems then to be as shown on the page opposite.*

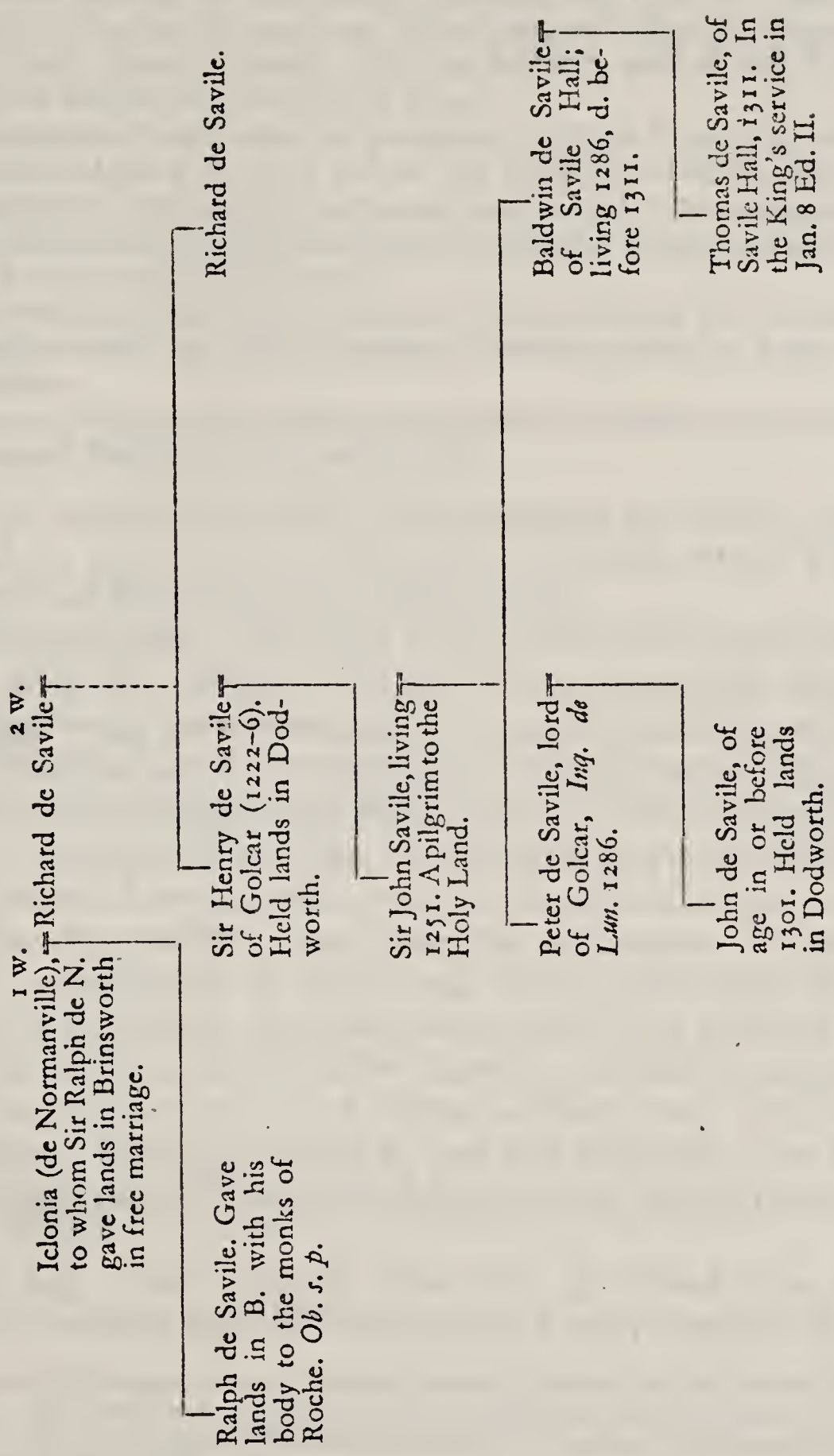
Brooke's account of the place and family is as follows (6):

'This Savile Hall is the most ancient seat of the Saviles, as they are supposed to have been seated there immediately after their entering England with Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, *tempore* Henry I.

'Thomas Savile conveys Savile Hall, by him called his Manor, in Dodworth to Sir John Mountney, Knt. and Constance his wife, 5 *Ed. filii Ed.*, which Constance is supposed to have been his daughter and heir. They had issue John Mountney of Cowley and of Stoke in Co. Nottingham, Esqr., who by Margaret daughter of Sir John Melton of Aston Knt. had issue Constance his heir, married to Sir John Bosseville of Chevitt, Knt. In this family Savile Hall continued three generations, and then went to the two co-heirs of Wm. Bosseville of Chevitt, Esqr., great-grandson of the said Sir John, of which Elizabeth the eldest was first married to Sir Thomas Tempest of Bowling, Knt., by which she had no issue, secondly to Sir John Nevile, third son of Sir Robert Nevile, of Liversedge, Knt.; and Alice the younger, to Robert Nevile of Ragnall in Co. Nottingham, Esqr.

* See Hunter's *Dean. Donc.* ii. 260; Dodsworth, cxiii. 201; Yorkshire Visit. of 1563-4; Gough's *Britannia*, iii. 40; *Yorks. Archæol. Journal*, xxv. 1-47; xxviii. 380-419.

VII. THE SAVILES OF DODWORTH.



'Wm. Bosseville of Chevitt died seized *inter alia* of lands in *Savile Hall*, 14 Novr. 1514.

'In the division of the estate, Elizabeth had Chevitt, from whom sprang the Neviles of that place (which see), and Alice the younger had Savile Hall. George Nevile of Grove, her son, sold it 16th Elizabeth (1573) to Headley or Headily for £240.

'Afterwards it came into the possession of Wm. Flemming, who was descended from a younger son of the Sharleston family, and whose posterity still continue in Dodworth, and he sold it at the beginning of the present century to Thomas Earl of Strafford,* whose son, the present Earl, is in possession of it 1773.

'An account of the possessions and lands holden of the Monastery of Pontefract made by Wm. Thwayte, Collector there 32 Henry VIII, *inter alia*:—

'Robert Nevile of Ragnall for certain lands in Dodworth in the tenure of Richard Hedily, by the year 8s. 6d.'

This annual rent of 8s. 6d. represents, no doubt, the 10s. which in 1301 was due from John de Savile to the Prior of Pontefract for his lands in Dodworth.

Of Savile Hall, which the writer visited in April 1900, the day after the funeral of Lord Londesborough, only the kitchen wing now remains. It is ancient and substantially built, and forms a convenient farm-house, commanding good views over Stainborough Park, the seat of Mr. Vernon Wentworth, to whom it belongs. The greater part of the old house was pulled down in 1860–70,† but the foundations may still be traced on the side away from the outhouses. The kitchen arch, semicircular in form, was (until lately filled in with brick) a yard deep, and there was room for a chair on either side of the fire. In the cellar there is, it is said, a curious old well into which Mr. F. S. Vernon Wentworth fell, on one occasion, when inspecting it, and was nearly drowned. The barns and outbuildings are old, and upon one of them is the date '1573'.

In July 1586 Nicholas Hurt was involved in a scrape which reminds one of Shakespeare's early exploits in deer-

* He died in 1739. It was occupied for many years by his land-agent Mr. Wm. Fenton. The latter's son, Richard Fenton, of Bank Top, married Anne, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Brooke of Fieldhead, Dodworth, by whom he had an only daughter Mary, wife of Sir William Wake.

† W. S. Banks, in his *Walks in Yorkshire*, published in 1871, writes: 'It was lately Elizabethan in style, I am told, but half of it was pulled down, wainscotting was removed, and all appearance of age taken out of it.'

stealing.* It appears that his elder brother, Walter Hurt of Combes and his wife's relative, Francis Greaves, were staying with him at Savile Hall, and together they were accused of 'kylling a stagge' in Kimberworth Park, a pleasure-ground of Lord Shrewsbury's which lay between Wentworth and Rotherham. They were tried at the York Assizes for the crime, but with what result does not appear. John Hobson of Dodworth, at whose house Nicholas had left his 'redd spanyall', was married to a sister of William Swift of Nabbs in Silkston,† whose family as appears by several indications were long afterwards great friends of the Hurts.

Account Book
of the Earl of Shrewsbury's expenses at Sheffield
Castle Co. York.‡

'Item, payd to Richard Dun's man for goeing to Nicholas Hurt's house and to Jo: Hobson of Dodworth, for a redd spanyall y^t Harte had at his Howse this xxxi of Julye, 1586.

'Item, payd to Thomas Whyte of Sheff: for carryeing 2 lett^r to my Lord to London concerning y^e huntters, viz: ffr. Greaves, Water Hurt, and Nich. Hurt, who were taken for kylling a stagge in Kymberworth P^{ke}, for to knowe his L^p's pleasure, vijs. ijd. y^e last of Julye, 1586.

'Item, Nicholas Bouthe keeper of Tankersley and Ric. Feytchley, when they wente to Yorke wth y^e iij hunters, viz: Francis Greaves, Water Hurte, and Nicholas Hurte, the xvii of August, 1586.'

The breaking of parks and the chasing, killing, or wounding of deer, were offences very common at this time and for long afterwards. In the *Depositions from York Castle*, printed by the Surtees Society (8), we have several instances, of which one relates to the neighbourhood of Haldworth:

'A true bill against Henry Bright of Whirlow, gent, Stephen Bright of the same, yeoman, Roger Robuck of the same, joiner, and Cornelius Clerk of Cathorp, Co. Derby, gent., for breaking into the forrest of Thomas, Earle of

* Nash, whose figures are always admirable, has, in his view of Charlcote, a group representing the arrest of the youthful Shakespeare. It might have served as an illustration of this hunting episode of 1586.

† Hunter's *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 900, 1304. The John Hobson of Dodworth who married Elizabeth, dau. of William Fretwell of Herringthorpe, gent., was no doubt his son.

‡ In the possession of the Duke of Norfolk.

Arundell, called Riveling Forrest, on 21 July 1659, and there killing a stag.'

Pinguedo, the season for hunting the hart and buck when they were fat, or to use the forest jargon, 'in grease', lasted from 24 June to 14 September; *fermisona*, or fermisone, that for hunting the hind and the doe, from 11 November to 2 February (9).

By the early forest law it was held to be no trespass to follow the hunt of deer into a private park, even if the owner had a grant of free-warren, as deer were beasts of the forest, not of the warren (9a). Leland, writing in the time of Henry VIII, speaks of the 'many rede dere, stragelers,' that resorted to the mountains of Weardale, and Canon Raine states that in the seventeenth century the 'native deer were still very numerous in Yorkshire'. There may, then, have been wild deer at large upon the moors, as in Southern England, and in any case deer must often have strayed from the private parks which were once so numerous. Such straggling deer might lawfully be followed by those who were qualified. Thus, in Derbyshire, deer which escaped from the Peak might be hunted by a forty-shilling freeholder, or a clerk with an annual income of £10, but only *towards* the forest (9b).

In many of these cases of breaking into parks and killing deer, it is stated that the prey was pursued with hounds or greyhounds, and there are also other charges of taking hares with hounds or greyhounds. It seems then that such offences were usually committed in following the local hounds, of which a pack was to be found in almost every large village throughout Derbyshire and South Yorkshire. In January 1641/2 Thomas Hedeley of Savile Hall, the grandson of Dionis Hurt, John Hobson, yeoman, . . . Senior of Dodworth, gentleman, and ten other defendants are charged with having unlawfully assembled at Hunshelf on the 18th October last past, and having there broken and entered the free warren of Elizabeth, Countess of Devon, chasing with dogs, killing and carrying away two hares. There was also a second charge against Hedeley and James Worsnam of Houndsfield, co. Derby, gentlemen, namely that on the 24th October, unlawfully assembling at Hunshelf, they had broken

the park and free warren of Sir Francis Wortley, by hunting a hare with hounds, killing it, and taking it away. Hediley in both cases put himself on the clemency of the Court and was fined (10). We have also a later suit in which Nicholas Hurt's great-nephew, Henry Birley of the Yews, is the defendant, a true bill having been found against him in April 1622, for the offence of coursing, hunting, and killing a stag in Tankersley Park.* This was undoubtedly a trespass committed in following a pack of hounds, for Wilson tells us that in the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Birleys of the Yews claimed the right by immemorial custom to have '12 cupple of Dogs and 12 men at Wadsley Hall 12 days in Christmas, and when they went away to stick a steel needle in y^e mantle tree, and likewise to have two mares and their followers to go to Wadsley Park every Summer'.†

At Savile Hall, Nicholas Hurt was living when the Armada sailed from Spain, when James with his Scotch courtiers rode southward towards London.‡ The house and its surroundings were pleasant enough. Thomas Hediley in his Will of 1578 mentions the garden and orchard at 'Sayvell hawlle' and both parlours commonly called the 'Nether Parlors'. In one of these rooms stood a cupboard and, as was customary

* Surtees Soc. xl. 70 n.

† Eastwood, 448.

‡ In volume ii of the Silkston Register are entries of his marriage and the birth of his children:

1583. Nichuſ hurtte et Dionizea headyle nupti fuerunt 22^{do} die Decembris, Anno pd.

1584. Elizabetha filia Nicholai Hurtte, bapt. erat 18 die Decembris, Anno pd.

1586. Gertrude filia Nicholai Hurtte bapt. erat 16^{to} die Decembris, Anno pd.

1587/8. Johēſ et Helena filii Nicholai Hurtte bapt. fuerunt 8^o die Martii, Anno pd.

1590. Richard filius Nicholai Hurtte baptizatus 21 die Decembris, Anno predicto.

1590/1. Richus filius Nichoi hurtte de Dodworth sepultus fuit eodem die et Anno pd. 16^o die Martii).

This volume ends in October 1598. Volume i, containing also later entries from 1598 to 1640, has most unfortunately been lost, but in the collections of the herald Brooke in the College of Arms (Vol. 17 H, Staincross Wap.) are excerpts from it, made about a hundred years ago. Amongst these is the following: '1611. 10 Dec. The wife of Nich^s Hurte of Savill-hall buried.'

There are copies of the Silkston Register for the years 1600, 1601, 1602, 1604, 1605, 1608, 1610, 1612, 1614, 1623, 1627, 1629, 1630, amongst the Archbishop's transcripts at York, but a search of these from 1600 to 1610 failed to discover any entries relating to the name of Hurt. It is unfortunate that no transcripts for the years 1582 to 1600 can be found.

The John Hurt above mentioned may possibly be the person of that name who in Harrison's Survey of 1637 appears as holding of Lord Shrewsbury a tenement and 24 acres in Wath, of which one field abuts on the land of Mr. Skyers, and others upon the lands of the Wentworths.

at the time, a bed. There must have been a good deal of woodland near by, as Richard Hedeley in 1581 left to his daughter the profit of one-half of the first and next fall of his woods. Of life there, except for the hunting escapade of 1586, there is no record. But we may presume with a probability falling little short of certainty that Nicholas sometimes stayed with his brother Walter at Over or Nether Colmes, that he visited Nottingham in 1595-6, when his brother Richard first served as Mayor of that ancient and famous borough, London in 1603 when his brother first represented it in Parliament. Richard remained on terms of close affection with his brothers, as is shown by a bequest to him from Walter Hurt of Nether Colmes in 1613.

'Nicholas Hurte of Savill Hall' and Robert Hobson of Dodworth (probably an ancestor of the diarist) were the supervisors appointed by the Will of Roger Addy of Dodworth, dated 25 July 1599, and proved at York 22 April 1602. Upon a bond of 29 July 1600, given by Nicholas Hurt of Savile Hall to George Hoyland of Wath-upon-Dearne to secure covenants of even date, a fragment of the seal of Nicholas remains, showing the hind quarters of an animal with the tail erect. This might be a lion rampant or passant, but it does not look armorial, and there is no sign of a shield. The witnesses are Roger Hobson, Robert Hobson, William Shaw, and Samuel Hickes, the latter being apparently the person who engrossed the bond.* The indenture of 13 August 1601, by which Walter Hurt of Combes and Nicholas Hurt of Savile Hall bind themselves to assure to Richard Waterhouse the messuage and lands of Over Colmes, and to bring in 'Richard Hurt of Nottingham, brother of the said Walter and Nicholas' to execute a release, has already been mentioned.

In 1607 Walter parted also with the property of Nether Combes, though he continued to reside there until his death in 1613. By a deed (11) of bargain and sale dated 25 June 1607, Walter Hurt of the Combes sells for £140 to Nicholas Stead of Onesacre and Thomas Stead of Hooton Levett, a messuage called the Nether Combes, in which he is then

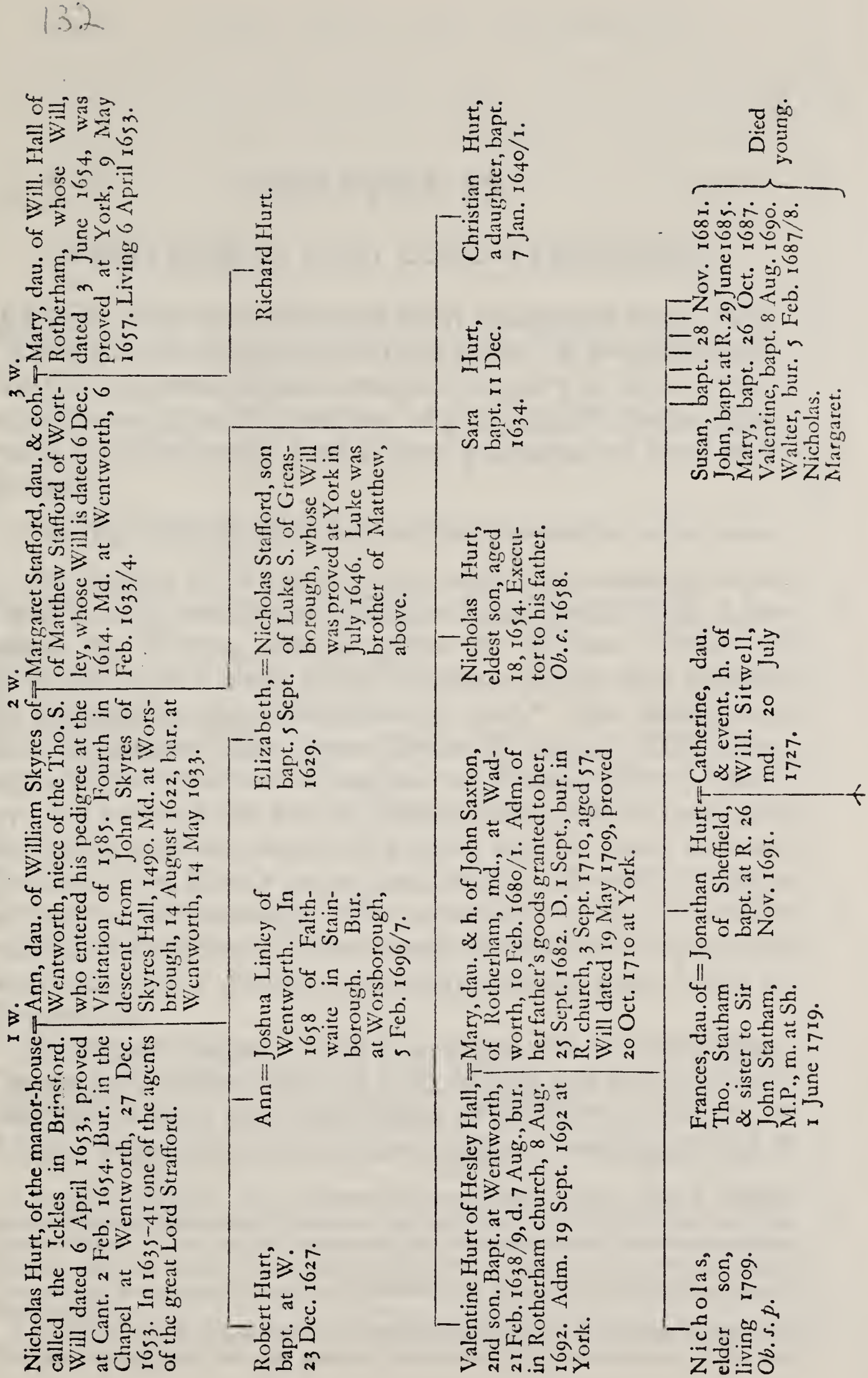
* This note was kindly supplied me by Mr. Walter Hall of Sheffield.

dwelling, situate in Worrall. There is a covenant for further assurance that Robert, Richard, and Nicholas Hurt, brothers of Walter, will join in signing the necessary deeds; the seals are missing. Nicholas may have been in London in October of the same year, when he and his brother are deforciant in a fine levied by Thomas and Nicholas Stead concerning a messuage and thirty-five acres of land in Worrall and Wadsley. Walter and Nicholas acknowledge the premises to be the right of the said Thomas as by their gift, for which acknowledgement the plaintiffs pay the sum of £50 (12).

In January or February 1606/7 Mrs. Greaves of Morewood had died, leaving part of the residue of her goods to her daughter 'Dynys Hurte, wife of Nicholas Hurte', and making her grandson, Thomas Hediley, executor. On the 10th December 1611, 'the wife of Nich^s Hurte of Savill-hall' was buried at Silkston. In the following year Nicholas must have removed elsewhere, for he is not even mentioned in the Will of his step-son, Thomas Hediley, which was drawn up in May 1613, and proved at York before the year was out. In March 1613 and May 1620 he was yet alive, as there are small bequests to 'Nicholas Hurt my brother' in the Wills of Walter Hurt of Nether Colmes and Robert Hurt of Haldworth Bank.* We can hardly be wrong in identifying him with the 'Nicholas Hurte' who was buried at Sheffield on the 22nd October 1620. And it is reasonable to suppose that the 'Ellen, daughter of Nich. Hurt,' who received burial in April of the same year in the adjacent parish of Handsworth, was his daughter, being identical with the Helena daughter of Nicholas of Savile Hall baptized at Silkston on the 8th March 1587/8. She would at that time have been just thirty-two years; Nicholas, her father, nearly sixty.

* 'Also I give to Nicholas Hurt my brother v s': 'Item, I give to my brother Nicholas Hurt tenn shillings.'

VIII. THE HURTS OF THE ICKLES



CHAPTER IX

WENTWORTH AND LORD STRAFFORD

AFTER May 1620 Nicholas Hurt disappears from view. But two years later in the little parish of Worsborough, which lies between Silkston and the chapelry of Wentworth, we find an entry of the marriage of a younger Nicholas, afterwards of Wentworth, who is here presumed to have been his son:

1622. *Nupt.* Nicholas hurte & Anne Sciars married the 14 Aug: 1622.*

The church of Worsborough, where the marriage took place, is only two and a half miles from Savile Hall. Anne Sciars, or Skyres, was daughter to William Skyers of Wentworth, and niece of the Thomas Skyres who entered his pedigree at the Visitation of 1585.* Her father was third in descent from John Skyres of Skyres Hall, living 1490, whose wife was a daughter of Frescheville of Staveley. An earlier John was of Alderthwaite Hall in 1397, and the family may be traced still further back in many undated charters. Mrs. Hurt's great-grandmother, the wife of Ralph Skyres of Alderthwaite, was according to the Visitation pedigree a daughter of Wentworth of Adwick-le-street, and there was thus a distant cousinship with the great house of Wentworth.

Wentworth chapel, which is in the parish of Wath-upon-Dearne and within a mile of both Skyres and Alderthwaite, had always been the burial-place of the Skyres family: at Alderthwaite Hall the elder branch was still residing in 1636.†

* See the Appendix. This relationship is established by the Will of William Skiers of Barbot Hall, dated 1 February 1647, and proved at York in May 1648. He gives a legacy of 20s. to his 'brother-in-lawe, Nicholas Hurte'. Another brother, Thomas Skiers of Haigh Green, in his Will dated 26 April 1639, proved in August 1641, makes bequests to 'Anne and Elizabeth, the daughters of Nicholas Hurt of Wentworth'.

† 8 October 1636. Mary Skyers of Alderthwaite, widow of Thomas Skyers, and William Skyers, gent., son and heir of Thomas and Thomas, brother of the said

Anne Hurt's eldest brother had married in 1613 Martha, daughter of Richard Lord, the Vicar of Ecclesfield; her second brother, Thomas Skyres, was of Haigh or Hay Green in the parish of Worsborough, a house described rather vaguely by Wilkinson as 'a fine old building, a specimen of the architecture of former ages'. A friend who saw it in 1865, not long before the time when it was sold and demolished, adds that it had mullioned windows and stone-slatted roof, with stone balls on the gate piers or somewhere on the walls. The parlour, the only room he can remember, was panelled throughout, and in a panel over the mantelpiece hung a portrait of Anne Hurt's nephew, William Skyres.* Anne's father had died as early as 1614, and from this pretty old house belonging to her brother the marriage of August 1622 must have taken place.

Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty at one time was inclined to identify this Nicholas Hurt of Wentworth, whose Will, dated 6 April 1653, was proved at Canterbury on the 2nd February 1654/5, with the Nicholas Hurt of Woodseats House† in Ecclesfield who was baptized at Bradfield on the 13th January 1576/7, being a younger son of Robert Hurt of Haldworth. But when the problem came to be studied in detail, certain difficulties arose. It seemed strange that Nicholas should have fifteen children by four marriages, the eldest born in 1604 when he was twenty-eight, the four youngest after 1634, when he was fifty-seven; that he should marry at Worsborough in August 1622, and have a child baptized at Eccles-

William, bind themselves to Thomas Skyers of Haigh Greene in the sum of £80 to perform certain covenants. Witnesses, William Rokeby, Thomas Wainwright, Robert Skyers. From the papers of Major Bower, formerly of Broxholme.

* Now in the possession of a descendant, Major Edmund Bower, formerly of Broxholme, who has supplied the information given above.

† This Nicholas was churchwarden for Grenosforth in 1614 and 1633. Robert and John Hurt, who serve for the same quarter in 1640 and 1653, are his sons. Woodseats is a hamlet near Barnes Green, about a mile from Grenoside, on the road to Wortley and Peniston. Nicholas bought in May 1605, from Thomas Skiers of Alderthwaite the elder, Thomas the younger and Mary his wife, a messuage and lands there, part of the inheritance of Agnes, daughter of Richard Parker and wife of the elder Thomas. In a later surrender of 2 February 1682/3 Francis Hurt sells to John Beate of Burncrosse 'all that messuage or tenement called Woodseats House, situate in the Parish of Ecclesfield, and all lands thereto belonging, together with all houses, outhouses, barns, stables, orchards, gardens, ways, fields, easements, conveniences, profits, privileges, and appurtenances thereto belonging.' *Sheffield Court Rolls*, vol. iii.

field in December of the same year; that in his Will he should mention none of the children of his first marriage, nor any of the children of his second marriage (except Elizabeth—the commonest of names), omitting all reference to his sons Robert, Walter, Thomas, John, and to his daughter Mary, all of whom were certainly alive. Of the children he does mention in the Will, none (except the doubtful Elizabeth) were christened at Ecclesfield. These doubts soon led to positive disproof. Elizabeth the second wife of Nicholas Hurt of Woodseats was buried at Ecclesfield 25 March 1621, and, according to the theory propounded, he married for his third wife Anne Skyers at Worsborough on the 14th August 1622; after her death, a fourth wife, whose Christian name was Mary. Yet in a surrender of lands at Woodseats, dated 8 September 1626, the name of his wife is given as Elizabeth; in the marriage indenture of his son Robert, dated 31 August of the same year and now in the writer's possession,* the name also appears as Elizabeth; while on the 15th March 1663/4, Elizabeth Hurt, widow, seeks to be admitted to one-third of certain lands at Woodseats as her dower, against Robert Hurt(1). This last entry seems conclusive evidence that after the death of Elizabeth Creswick, his second wife, Nicholas Hurt of Woodseats married before 1621 a third wife, also named Elizabeth, who survived him. Following up the clue, the writer found at Somerset House the Will of a Nicholas Hurt, dated 18 November 1654, and proved (P.C.C.) 9 May 1657. He describes himself as of Whitegate or Whiteplace in the Graveship of Hulmfirth;† *desires to be*

* This was amongst the title-deeds to lands in Brampton bequeathed by Samuel Phipps to Sir Sitwell Sitwell.

† Holmfirth, a town given up to the manufacture of woollen goods, lies in 'a valley surrounded by hills, reminiscent of Swiss mountain scenery'. Thomas Hurt of Richmond, co. Surrey, a son of this Nicholas, had died a few months before, and in his Will dated 1 'March 1643', proved 24 April 1654, mentions his father Nicholas, his brothers Robert and Walter, his sister Mary. He refers also to his interest in a piece of land at Woodseats in Ecclesfield. The Will of John Hurt of Coldwell in Bradfield, another son, dated 24 November 1679, was proved at York on the 27 February 1679/80 by Elizabeth his mother.

We have also a reference to Nicholas of Holmfirth in the Will of William Creswick of Wadsley in Ecclesfield, dated 14 November 1659 and proved at London 14 July 1660. He mentions that on the 2nd December 1653 Nicholas Hurt of Whitegate or Whiteplatts in the graveship of Holme had surrendered to the lord of the manor of Wakefield a messuage in his occupation called Whitegate or Whiteplatts in Cartworth, to the uses of the Will of the said William Creswick.

buried at Ecclesfield or elsewhere as his executor may think fit; mentions his wife Elizabeth, his sons Robert, John and Walter, and his daughter Mary, the wife of Robert Hatfield(2). There cannot therefore be a shadow of doubt that Nicholas Hurt of Woodseats in Ecclesfield removed to Holmfirth, and was not the same person as Nicholas Hurt of Wentworth, the husband of Ann Skyers.

We must therefore look elsewhere for the parentage of the latter. That he came of the Haldworth stock there are strong indications. Bennet Hurt, daughter of Walter Hurt of Combes, was married in the chapel of Wentworth in June 1627, and as one may presume, from the house of our Nicholas who, on the hypothesis here put forward, would be her first cousin. Her father, who was brother to Nicholas Hurt of Savile Hall, mentions her in his Will of 1614. Again, Nicholas of Wentworth in his Will of 1653 names as executor his 'Kinsman, Renold Hurt', undoubtedly the Reynald* of Warmsworth who was Bennet's brother. The Will also indicates a connexion with the parish of Silkston, in which Savile Hall lies, for it mentions the testator's 'friend, John Kay', who, together with John Kay *junior*, was a witness. This is John Kaye, gentleman, of Masbrough (close to Rotherham, where the testator was then residing), but formerly of Nabbs in the parish of Silkston, his wife being the widow of Robert Swift of Nabbs (3). One may perhaps see a further connexion with Savile Hall in the fact that Valentine Hurt, son of Nicholas of Wentworth, took by lease in 1671 a coal-mine 'in the manor of Barnsley-cum-Dodworth'.

Nicholas Hurt and his wife settled at Wentworth, having leased a house there† from Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford. As will be gathered from a letter about to be quoted, Mr. Hurt seems to have been acting in 1647 as rent-receiver or agent for the home estate at Wentworth to the second Lord Strafford, and if the muniment-room of that place is ever made accessible to students, it will probably be

* The Bradfield Register gives the name as Reignold, Reynald, Regnald.

† Wentworth Court rolls. Court Baron, 26 October 1632. 'Tenants by lease or at the will of the lord; Nicholas Hurt is excused from doing suit.' Court Leet, 16 November 1641. 'Swine unringed: Nicholas Hurt 8, ijs. viijd.'

found that like Edmunds and Elmhirst, who are mentioned in the same sentence, he served Lord Strafford's more celebrated father in a similar capacity. Indeed, it seems likely that his connexion with that family was still older; that he had first acted for the Wentworths of Bretton in Silkston or those of Stainbrough close to Savile Hall, and had been recommended by them to their cousin, Sir Thomas. The letter referred to was written from Rome in December 1647 by the second Lord Strafford to Sir George Wentworth of Woolley, and contains the following passage:

*'I desire you and my cousin Wentworth to know of R. Burrowes if he is able to take the pains he has done heretofore, which is necessary for him to do, that is to be general Receiver of my rents. In regard of his service to my Father and me, I shall be very glad if he can continue to perform his employment still; but if he find himself not able, I wish I may have your opinion whom to choose for that purpose; if either Thomas Edmunds or Richard Elmust be in a condition to take that charge, I think it would be very well. I believe Nicholas Hurt fitter than any man to be employed about Woodhouse, and would have him encouraged in it.'**

Of the persons here mentioned, 'cousin Wentworth' is Sir Thomas Wentworth of Bretton. 'R. Burrowes' will be Richard Burrowes, gentleman, of Shiercliffe Hall and of Tinsley in the parish of Rotherham.† Thomas Edmunds was of Worsborough Hall, father of the Henry Edmunds who appeared at Dugdale's Visitation. 'Elmust' is Richard Elmhirst,‡ the head of that ancient family, whose pedigree is recorded also by Dugdale. His daughter and heir married Copley of Nether Hall, Doncaster, whose mother was Elizabeth Sitwell of Renishaw. Nicholas Hurt is of course the person in whom we are interested, there being no one else of the name resident at Wentworth. It is clear that his sympathies

* Hist. MSS. Comm., MSS. of Wentworth of Woolley, 1903, p. 357. See the rest of this correspondence in Hunter's *Dean. Donc.* vol. ii, p. 87, and Joseph Wilkinson's *Worsborough*, pp. 35-7, 142-3.

† He married a sister of the first Robert Harrison of Orgrave, and his Will, dated 16 April 1650, was proved at York. See *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 831, 1205-6.

‡ The Will of Richard Elmhurst of Houndhill was dated 31 December 1653 and proved (P.C.C.) by Elizabeth his widow, 17 May 1656. He mentions his manor of Coulton, and moieties of the manors of Faireburne and Hoyland-Swaine.

must have been on the royalist side, for Lord Strafford would not thus have spoken of a Roundhead.

Since the last three paragraphs were written, evidence has been found confirming the presumption contained in them. By a letter dated from Ireland 27 November 1635, the first Lord Strafford entrusts 'the government of my Lands', 'the overseeing of my Lands and Tenants', to three persons, of whom the last named is Nicholas Hurt.* It appears that up to the previous month a certain Richard Marris or Morris, Esquire, of Barbot Hall in Greasbrough, had served him as steward or land-agent. Sir George Radcliffe in his reminiscences speaks of Marris as follows:

'In the managing of his Estate and domestical Affairs, he [Lord Strafford] used the Advice of two Friends, *Charles Greenwood*† and G. R. [Sir George Radcliffe], and two servants, *Richard Marris* his Steward, and *Peter Man*‡ his Sollicitor. Before every Term they met, and *Peter Man* brought a Note of all Things to be considered of; which being taken into Consideration one by one, and every one's Opinion heard, Resolution was had and set down in Writing.'

The estate rents were collected by bailiffs and paid in to Marris, who remitted them by letters of exchange to William Raylton in London, possibly a Goldsmith with whom the owner had a running account. Strafford had a personal regard for Marris, but was aware of his steward's weakness, which was an undue fondness for convivial company and for the cup that cheers. In the autumn of 1635,§ this failing led to a fatal catastrophe. Riding home at night when heavy with drink, Marris dropped off his horse, was dragged along, and the girths loosing, left in a wet place, where he was found dead in the morning. Strafford writes that the unfortunate man can hardly have been drowned, 'for then how should one pocket be dry', but 'doubtless for want of Company and in a cold Night and Lodging was stormed to Death'. He speaks of the unhappy end of his steward as

* William Knowles, *The Earl of Strafford's Letters*, 1740, vol. i, p. 481.

† Rector of Thornhill.

‡ By his Will dated 24 November 1637, proved at York 9 April 1638, he desired to be buried in the church of Wentworth. Nicholas Hurt is the first of the four witnesses.

§ Wentworth Register, York transcripts: 6 November 1635. 'Buried Mstr Richard Marris of Wentworth.' York, Doncaster Act Book, 607. 6 January 1636. 'Adm. of the goods of Richard Marris Esquire, late of Wentworth.'

'scandalous to all that have relation to him—amongst the rest I am sure to have my share', and expresses a hope that it may 'deter us from this Swinish Vice, and all others which may draw upon ourselves like Punishments'.

On the 27th November Strafford wrote from Dublin the long letter already alluded to, making arrangements to fill the vacancy created by the death of Marris. Richard Burrows with the assistance of William Colebrand and Hurt was entrusted with the management of his lands, woods, and business concerns; these three were also to advise as to any improvement that might be honourably and justly made out of the estate, either by inclosing, converting grounds to pasture, or otherwise. The rents of the various properties were to be collected as before, by bailiffs, the account being kept by Bower, formerly 'servant' or rather secretary to Marris, who was to have £20 a year, a horse to ride upon, and his charges; the sums received were to be paid a month after rent-day to Greenwood and Rockley, who as commissioners were to meet at Wentworth for the audit. The agents' duties are set out in detail as follows:

'I do desire Richard Burrows be appointed with the assistance of William Colebrand† and Hurt, with the Privity and Advice of yourself and Mr. Rockley, to give Order for letting of my Demains, for governing my Colliery and Glass-House; that my Tenants use their Ground and Houses, as honest Men and good Husbands ought to do, according to their several Leases; that my Woods be preserved, and at due Seasons felled and sold to the best Profit. Spring-Woods I mean; that the Hedges and Fences be preserved; that the Ponds, Pheasants, Partridges, and Parks be preserved, and as much Profit made of the Herbage*

* Marris, as appears by the letter quoted above, had a 'great estate' in land and goods; Burrows also was well off, as is shown by his Will. It seems to have been Strafford's practice to choose for his agents men who inspired confidence by their property as well as by their character, and he thus obtained an enlarged security: they were men who had managed their own affairs well; there was likely to be less temptation to ill-doing, less danger from the pressure of sudden necessity, and in case of failure the estate of the delinquent would be answerable for the loss incurred.

† William Colebrand of Newall Grange by his Will dated 24 January 1652, proved P.C.C.) 17 May 1658, desired to be buried in the Lady Quire at Wath Church under one of the stones he had laid down, 'where my auncestors hath usually been buried'. Mr. Thomas Wombwell, Vicar of Wath, is to preach his funeral sermon and to be supervisor.

of Tankersly Park as may be without Hurt to the Deer ; that Fires be kept in the Houses at Woodhouse and Tankersly, and that the Housekeepers preserve the Rooms sweet, and the Stuff without Spoil, and principally that the Houses be kept dry from taking of Rain, and this I mean for Woodhouse side.'

'For Richard Burrows his pains herein, I will give him the Profit of the Farm Richard Marris had at Barbot-hall, which will be worth him better than Forty Pounds a Year, provided that he see to the upholding of my Houses and well Usage of my Grounds, the others I will reward their Service according as you shall think and find they deserve.'

A few days after the date of this letter Strafford made preparations to visit England. In a letter to the King dated 5 December 1635, he petitions for leave to come over for three or four months in order to wait personally upon his Majesty, and because 'I have lately lost my Servant wholly intrusted with my Estate in *England*, by means whereof my Private Affairs are there for the present in great Distraction'. Leave was granted and during his stay at Wentworth, which lasted from August to October, he confirmed the appointments already made.

Wentworth Woodhouse, the seat of the Wentworths, lay about a mile distant from the village. Part of the original building still survives. 'In the oldest corner,' we are told, 'still very much as he left them, are Strafford's own rooms, two such quaint, dark little rooms, that it is difficult to realize they once lodged so great a man.' They overlook the chapel court, and from the windows may be seen the Well-Gate of Roche Abbey stone, said to have been designed by Inigo Jones. A picture of the old house while it was yet perfect is preserved, and Hunter gives an illustration showing the courts, orchard, bowling-green, kitchen-garden, banqueting- and summer-houses, which surrounded it before the year 1695, when it passed from the Wentworths to the Watsons. The building as it has come down to us is a composite structure, formed by adapting and enlarging an early Jacobean or late Elizabethan manor-house, but 'tending in style towards the full classic manner that Inigo Jones first intro-

duced into England after his return from Italy in 1615'.* The additions and alterations referred to cannot be the work of the second Lord Strafford, 'throughout his life a needy and embarrassed man'; they are earlier than 1665, when the mansion was assessed to the hearth-tax at fifty hearths, five times the number to be found in an ordinary manor-house, and must date back to the years 1628-33 when the first Lord Strafford was in residence. At Wentworth, we are told, 'his house-keeping was liberal, his state magnificent. His ordinary household consisted of sixty-four persons, and he was rarely without numerous guests. A household book remains, in which an account is entered of the provisions consumed daily, and of the arrival and departure of all strangers.' A list of the household is given by Hunter, including Thomas Edmunds, who was then Wentworth's secretary, and another personage who had played a great part in earlier times but whom we should hardly have expected to find surviving at so late a date, namely, that butt of everyday wit and hero of the Christmas revels, 'Tom foole'. The period before the Civil War began was a time of great hospitality to which the cookery-books of the Restoration can hardly refer without tears, and the scene in the central hall and the long gallery, when Lord Strafford was entertaining his tenants and neighbours at the New Year, must have been something to remember.

Wentworth's attachment to his old home and to his garden was one of the passions of his life. In April 1623 he writes to Sir George Calvert in praise of the life he was living there. 'Our objects and thoughts are limited to looking upon a tulip, hearing a bird sing, a rivulet murmuring, or some such petty yet innocent pastime.' And again, eleven years later, he expresses the yearning he felt to return once more to the scene of his earliest recollections. 'You mention my garden at Woodhouse, and I thank you,' he writes from Ireland to Stanhope. 'As prosperous as you conceive his Majesty's affairs go here, and indeed, unprosperous, I praise God, they have not been hitherto; yet, could I possess myself with more satisfaction and repose under that roof, than with all the preferment

* *Country Life*, 20 Sept. 1924.

and power a crown can communicate of her grace and favour.'

From the day he left school to the day he succeeded at the age of twenty-one to his ancestral inheritance, Wentworth had prepared himself with characteristic thoroughness for public life. At Cambridge, in addition to the usual course of study, he made it his habit to attend the sermons of the most eloquent divines, the classes of those lecturers who were known as the greatest masters of language; he read with critical attention the best authors in French, Latin, and English with a view to style, and taking some celebrated treatise, would often, before reading it, compose an original paper of his own upon the same subject; this he afterwards corrected and amplified by comparison with the author. No epistle, to his mind, was insignificant enough to excuse carelessness in construction or phrasing; hence the perfect command of his native language, which was fit for all service in his hands. Having completed at the age of nineteen or twenty his studies at Cambridge, he set out for a prolonged tour upon the Continent, accompanied by his wife—he had married before going to Cambridge—and by a tutor to whom he was much attached. The long course of preparation was continued after his return to England. To his favourite studies of history and poetry he now added that of law, gaining his knowledge not from books alone, but by close attendance over a long period at the courts of justice, especially at the Star Chamber. And in addition to that personal training in the use of weapons which was part of every young gentleman's education, he took care to make himself acquainted with the needs of an army and all the details of management, the cost, the commissariat, and the inner working of those departments which as a rule are known intimately only to those especially concerned in them.

This mode of education made Wentworth a very capable administrator, an excellent man of business. He informed himself of everything, however insignificant, relating to his property, sought the advice of experts before committing himself to any scheme of improvement, and having once decided upon a plan, spared no pains in carrying it out. How-

ever much pressed with public affairs, he could find time to 'cast up his accounts', to take a survey of his estates by the reports of his agents, and to give minute directions for the management of them. To all those who served under him he was a good and generous master. He exacted the full measure of service, but 'always showed an appreciation of faithfulness, and took a personal interest in the welfare of his dependants that greatly endeared him to them'. Of Richard Marris, the steward or land-agent who died in 1635, he writes: 'In truth, I loved him very well.' One of the last two letters he wrote was to his private secretary, Guildford Slingsby, warning him that it would be better to leave England for a time. 'Remember,' he adds, 'that there was a person whom you were content to call Master, that did very much value and esteem you, and carried to his death a great stock of his affection for you, as for all your services, so for this your care towards me in all this time of my trial and affliction.'

Nicholas Hurt seems to have been one of these dependants, and living almost under the shadow of the great house for twenty-five years, he must have seen the splendour and the tragedy of Strafford's career. On Christmas Day, 1620, Sir Thomas (as he then was) was returned for the second time Knight of the Shire for Yorkshire; a year later, upon the dissolution of Parliament, he retired to Wentworth, where he is said to have diverted himself chiefly with hawking. In the spring of 1625 he married his second wife, and in the same year the King appointed him Sheriff in order to incapacitate him from standing for Parliament. Wentworth's political views were from the first consistent and well-defined, without any such sudden break in them as is commonly believed to have taken place. Opposed to either extreme, he was anti-Puritan as well as anti-Catholic. Desirous of domestic reform, he was an enemy to Continental adventures, and above all to a war of religion. Believing it possible to recover the Palatinate by negotiation, he had no sympathy with the desire of Buckingham and of the House of Commons to rush into war with Spain. Content to accept the existing constitution, he was equally hostile to usurpation by King or by Parliament. His view was that just as the Commons

had no business to grasp at executive functions, so the King had no right to levy taxes without consent; and he endeavoured over and over again to bring about an accommodation between the two by which all unjust claims should be dropped on either side. Standing thus midway between the two parties, he was to both an object of suspicion, sometimes of bitter hatred. In 1625 Eliot fiercely attacked him, comparing him to Cataline, who came into the Senate in order to destroy it; in the same year he was dismissed from the Bench of Magistrates, and in 1627 was committed to the Marshalsea for refusing to pay a forced loan. Yet in spite of his independence of party, Wentworth was already known in 1628 as the man 'who hath the greatest sway in Parliament'. Under his influence, the Commons refused supply until they had been secured in their liberties, referring especially to forced loans, billeting, imprisonment without cause shown, and martial law. Wentworth secured the grant of five subsidies conditionally on the reform of the abuses complained of, but owing to the King's obstinacy all his attempts at mediation failed, and he felt it necessary to withdraw from the leadership of the House. The Petition of Right, drawn up by other hands, repeated the demand, and Charles had eventually no alternative but to accept it.

Domestic abuses having thus been removed, Wentworth was more ready to act in concert with the King, who on his side must have realized the wisdom of the advice that had been offered to him. The power of the Crown had been limited, and the nation, as the event proved, was in as much danger from the popular party as from the King. In 1628 Wentworth accepted a peerage and the presidency of the Council of the North. His entry into Dublin in July 1633, as Lord Deputy of Ireland, was the beginning of a long banishment from Woodhouse, broken only by one short visit. In December 1635, as we have already seen, he petitioned for leave to be absent for three or four months from Ireland, Crossing the Channel in June 1636, he was summoned to London and detained there until August, when the Plague drove the Court from the capital. On the 27th of that month he writes from Wentworth, and his stay was prolonged until

October. Here in the company of his earliest friends, surrounded by his tenants and retainers, he found again that happiness which the pomp and pageantry of office could never afford. 'Lord, with what quietness in myself could I live here,' he writes, 'in comparison of that noise and labour I meet with elsewhere!' 'Sure, it much contented me to be amongst my old acquaintances, which I would not leave for any other affection I have, but for that which I both profess and owe to the person of his sacred Majesty.'

Towards the end of November 1636 Strafford returned to Ireland after a six months' absence. During the first three years of his government there, he had been able to increase the revenue by £180,000, to improve trade, introduce new manufactures, reform the administration of Justice, repress piracy, and reorganize the army. When his six years of power ended, 'the value of land, of exports and imports had doubled; shipping had increased a hundredfold; on his annual income of £20,000, instead of £1 6s. 8d., Lord Cork was paying £600 a year; a living wage from recovered Church stipends was attracting a more reputable class of clergy to Ireland, and the poor knew where to seek for justice and protection'.* But in strange contrast with the tact and moderation displayed throughout the period in which he was establishing his power, was the use he afterwards made of it. Ill health no doubt was a contributing cause, aggravated by the agonies of gout, for he continued to be a moderate drinker, though to his constitution wine, even in a small quantity, was an active poison. But pride, passion, and want of understanding were also to blame. He was beyond comparison the ablest administrator in the kingdom, but owing perhaps to an imperfect study of history, or to lack of natural shrewdness, had never that sound judgement on the larger issues with which we associate the name of statesman.

The aim of King Charles's policy was that of his father's: to unite and consolidate the three kingdoms, thus securing for his people the prosperity that springs from internal tranquillity and a strong central government, strengthening them in their relation to foreign powers, and guarding against

* *Spectator*, 3 November, 1923.

future conflicts in matters of religion. But the methods he employed were almost certain to bring upon his subjects the very evils against which he sought to protect them. It may be true that the right of the Crown to govern being at that time undoubted, Parliament ought not to have refused the funds necessary for carrying on the administration, but it was certainly unwise to seek out ancient precedents for levying taxes which fell with undue weight upon a single class, the class from which future Parliaments were certain to be recruited. Human nature being what it is, resentment amongst the members of the next House of Commons was likely to be stronger than self-interest. The King's desire to bring all his subjects within the fold of a national church was worthy of all praise, but religion can seldom be forced, and the cruel punishment of loose-tongued fanatics was likely to provoke sympathy for their sufferings rather than condemnation of their errors. As a consequence of these faults of method, a large section of the population became united in opposition to the Crown. Then came the crowning blunder of Charles and Laud, a blunder which supplied the malcontents in England with a nation and an army ready to act in concert with them—the attempt in July 1637 to impose a new form of liturgy upon the Scottish people.

There is a point at which folly becomes crime. Scotland was full of old soldiers, was fiercely sectarian in matters of religion. The English people were untrained in arms, and out of sympathy with the Government. At the moment the storm burst, there was not more than £200 in the Exchequer, money could not be raised, supplies were certain to be refused, and the royal arsenals were empty of arms and ammunition. In such circumstances a ruler as wise as Elizabeth would have yielded at once with a good grace to the demands of the Covenanters, and rooted in the affection of the people the Crown would have been stronger than before. But Charles was constitutionally incapable of giving way on a question of principle, that is to say, where religion and the divine right of Kings were concerned, or if forced to retreat of keeping faith with his opponents. 'I will rather die than yield,' he wrote, and Strafford, who failed to understand the strength

of religious and national feeling in Scotland, encouraged him in his madness.

In the summer of 1639, when the failure and the cost of the expedition against the Scots had made the summoning of Parliament imperative, the King sent for Strafford in order to confer with him. Strafford did not reach London until about the end of November, and returned to Ireland in Lent without having had any opportunity of visiting Wentworth. In April 1640, after only a fortnight's stay in the island, he was again summoned to England; four months later a Scotch army of 30,000 men crossed the border, and the King was soon compelled to accept the terms they offered. Strafford spent much of that autumn at Wentworth. Though warned by his friends to remain with the army at York or to retire to his government in Ireland, and well aware that his appearance in Parliament would not be to the King's advantage, he was so weak or so rash as to attend the House of Lords on the 11th November, and was at once arrested, articles of impeachment having been presented against him.

A trial in Westminster Hall followed in March 1641, and on the 12th May he was beheaded. His body was afterwards embalmed and carried to the chapel at Wentworth, where it was laid to rest. The verdict against him was a gross act of tyranny and injustice, for he was undoubtedly innocent of the particular charge brought against him, namely, a design to invade and reduce England by means of an Irish Army.

Of Lord Strafford's habits in private life, some particulars are given by his biographers (4).

'He was exceeding temperate in Meat, Drink, and Recreations. He was no whit given to his Appetite; though he loved to see good Meat at his Table, yet he eat very little of it himself: Beef or Rabbits was his ordinary Food, or cold powdered Meats, or cheese and Apples, and in moderate Quantity. He was never drunk in his Life, as I have often heard him say; and for so much as I had seen, I had Reason to believe him: Yet he was not so scrupulous, but that he would drink Health where he liked his Company, and be as sociable as any of his Society, and yet still within the Bounds of Temperance. In Ireland, where Drinking was grown a Disease Epidemical, he was more strict publicly, never suffering any Health to be drunk at his publick Table, but the King's,

Queen's, and Prince's on Solemn Days. Drunkenness in his Servants was in his Esteem one of the greatest Faults.

'He loved Hawking, and was a good Falconer; yet in his later Days he got little Time to see his Hawks fly, though he always kept good ones. He played excellently well at *Primero* and *Mayo*,* and for Company's sake, in *Christmas*, and after Supper, he would play sometimes; yet he never was much taken with it, nor used it excessively, but as a Recreation should be used. His chief Recreation was after Supper, when, if he had Company, which were suitable unto him, that is, honest chearful Men, he would retire into an inner Room, and set two or three Hours, taking Tobacco and telling Stories with great Pleasantness and Freedom: And this he used constantly, with all Familiarity in private, laying then aside all State and that Respect which in Publick he would expect.'

We may now return from the theatre of great events and from the men who made the mischief, to one of the countless lives that were saddened by it. In 1633, as will be seen by the entry in the Archbishop's transcript of the Wentworth Register,† Mrs. Hurt died, and early in the following year

* For these two games, see *Shakespeare's England*, pp. 473-4, and the *New English Dictionary*.

† Wentworth chapel, as already stated, is in the parish of Wath-upon-Dearne. The Churchwardens' Evidences at Wath state that it is 'an ancient chappell of ease, to which the inhabitants are used to repaire upon Sundayes and holy daies to heare Divine Service and sermons, to receive the Holie Communion, to marry, to baptize their children and bury their dead. Which duties have been performed unto them by the curates of Wath, or the curate of that chappell; but they have their banes of matrimony asked at Wath Church.'‡ It appears that the marriage of 'Nicholas Hurst' after banns published in Wath was one of the cases quoted in the Churchwardens' Evidences at the court at York. This may perhaps be the marriage of 1633/4.

There is no register at Wentworth earlier than 1654, but amongst the Archbishops' transcripts at York will be found transcripts returned by the churchwardens in the years 1604, 1605, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1627, 1629, 1630, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640. Here the series ends, to begin again in 1661. The following entries were found in the transcripts, as appears by certified copies made by the late A. Gibbons of Heworth Green, York, a very competent archivist, and signed by the Registrar:

- 1627. June 13^o. Married Rob Hitch and Benett Hurt.
- December 23^o. Baptized. Robert, sonne of Nicholas Hurt.
- 1629. September 5. Bap. Elizabeth, daughter Nicolas Hurt, the fifth day.
- 1633. May. Buried Anne, wife of Nicholas Hurt, 14th day.
- Febr. 6th. Married Nicholas Hurt & Margaret Stafford.
- 1634. Sara, daughter of Nicolas Hurt, bapt. y^e 11th of December.
- 1638. febr: Bapt: Valentine, sonne of Nicolas Hurt, y^e XXIth of februarie.
- 1640. Januarie 7th Bapt. Christian, y^e dawghter of Nicolas Hurt.

The transcript of 1629 is headed '1630', the '3' being very indistinct, but is endorsed in a contemporary hand '1629'. It was found in the bundle of transcripts for the last-named year, but may probably have been made up and sent to York a twelve-month later. Nicolas Hurt signs as churchwarden the transcript of 1638. It will be

‡ Keble Martin, *A History of Wath upon Dearne*, p. 69.

her husband married again. Margaret Stafford, his second wife, was a daughter of Matthew Stafford of Wortley, who by a Will dated 6 December 1614, and proved at York, had left two-thirds of his property to his three daughters, desiring that his brother, Luke Stafford of Greasborough in the parish of Rotherham, should be responsible for the tuition of Margaret and the care of her portion. We find accordingly in Luke's Will (undated, but proved at York in July 1647) legacies to Nicholas Hurt, to Christian Hurt his daughter, and to 'Nicholas Hirt *junior* and Valentine, his sonnes'. Again in the Will of Luke's widow, Dorothe Stafford of Dikeside in the parish of Rotherham, dated 7 April 1656 and proved at Canterbury 12 May 1657, there are small legacies to Mr. Hurt's children:

'First, I give unto Nicholas Hurt three pounds. *Item*, I give Valentine Hurt one pound. *Item*, I give unto Christian Hurt sixteene poundes.'

John Stafford, the eldest son of Luke and Dorothy, married at Rotherham on the 3rd July 1645 Elizabeth Skyers, who doubtless was one of the Hay Green family, though her exact place in the pedigree has not been determined.

These Staffords will be descended from the 'Owmfray Staforth of Hallfield in the parish of Sheffield', whose very interesting Will is dated 7 September 1558. There was apparently an earlier connexion with the Hurts, Edward Birley, uncle of the Henry Birley of the Yews who in 1570 became the husband of Dionis Hurt, having married 'Alice, widow of... Stafford'. She will be the Alice Greave of Sheffield married at Ecclesfield on the 10th September 1559 to William Stafford. Mark, brother of Matthew and Luke Stafford, was married at Ecclesfield on the 7th July 1601 to Jane Smythe, and the three brothers with the biblical names may have been sons of William. The surname occurs also in the parish register of Barnsley.

At Eyam in Derbyshire a branch of the great baronial house of Stafford had been settled since the beginning of the fourteenth century (5), and Mr. C. E. B. Bowles, the historian

noticed that he christened his eldest son 'Robert', perhaps after Robert Hurt of Haldworth who died in 1621, aged seventy-six or above, and whom he must himself have known in his earlier days.

of the Eyam family,* writes that he has no doubt Humphrey Stafford of Hallfield was descended from them, though the connexion may be far back in the pedigree. This family, like others with which we have found the Hurts of Haldworth intermarrying, was connected with Tideswell and the Eyres. Sir Nicholas Stafford had a confirmation of the manor of Tideswell in 1377-8, and licence to institute a chantry there about 1392 (6). In 1401 the King confirmed the manor of Tideswell to Elizabeth widow of Nicholas Stafford. In 1490-3 Richard Stafford of Eyam appointed as his Trustees Robert Eyre of Padley, junior, Nicholas Eyre, Philip Eyre, parson of Ashover, Roger Eyre of Holm, Roger Eyre of Padley (7). There was also a connexion with the township in which we are interested, as Catherine, one of the daughters and heirs of the last Humphrey Stafford of Eyam, married towards the middle of Elizabeth's reign Rowland Morewood of the Oaks in Bradfield.

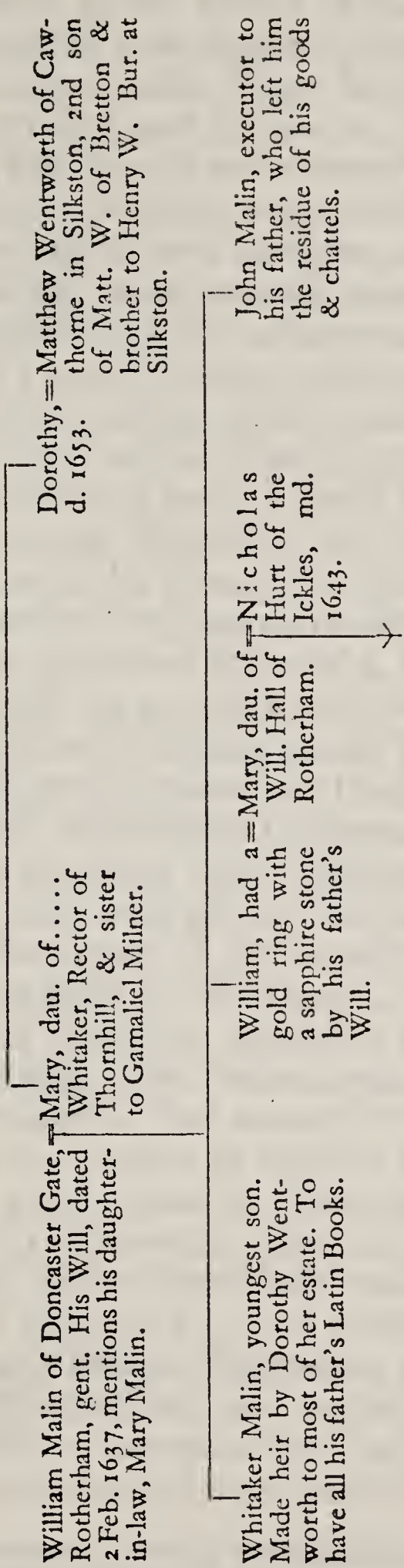
Mr. Hurt's second wife died in 1640 or not long after, and in 1643 he married Mary, widow of William Malin of Rotherham and daughter of William Hall of the same place; the latter by his Will in 1657, left her a silver bowl in full satisfaction of her filial portion, together with the remainder (after the death of her unmarried sister) to his house in Westgate. She had a brother, the Rev. Francis Hall, who was a clergyman, and like her predecessor, Anne Skyres, was distantly related to the Wentworths. William Malin gentleman, of Doncaster-gate, Rotherham, in his Will,† dated 2 February 1637, mentions his 'daughter-in-law, Mary Malin,' to whom he leaves his 'wife's best band'; Mary's first husband must, then, have been William, elder brother of the Whittaker Malin to whom their aunt, Mrs. Wentworth of Cawthorne, devised in 1653 the greater part of her estate (8). Paver gives the licence for her second marriage as follows:

'1643. Nicholas Hurte, gen., Carlton, and Mary Maylin, widow, Rotherham. Either place.' (9)

* *Derbyshire Archaeol. Journal*, vol. xxx. The connexion of the Staffords of Eyam with Bradfield is not surprising, as both places were under the lordship of the Furnivals, and after that of the Talbots.

† To his youngest son, 'Whittacres Malin', the testator left £100 and all his Latin books; to William his eldest son, 'my gold ring with a sapphire stone in yt'.

IX. THE MALINS OF ROTHERHAM



See *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 1200-1; *Guest's Rotherham*, p. 205; *Yorks. Archæol. Record Soc.* vol. ix. p. 65; *Watkinson's Worsborough*, p. 40, note; *Surtees Society*, vol. xl. p. 260. Thomas Edmunds of Worsborough in his Will of 1662 mentions his 'beloved friend, John Malyn, gentleman'. Amongst the robberies in which the notorious highwayman, Nevison, was concerned, was 'one neare to Maultby in Yorkshire, done by Nevison, Bracy, and Tankard, when they took about £200 from one Malin of Rotherham, when he was going towards Gainsbrough mart'.

Carlton may be the manor of that name in the parish of Royston, near Silkston, then belonging to Sir Francis Wortley, who was in arms for the King. It seems strange at first sight that the township, not the parish, should be mentioned in the licence, but there is some reason to believe that Carlton, like Wentworth, Worsborough, and Bradfield, was a chapelry in itself, having its own services and register. The Statute of 35 Elizabeth, which was still valid in 1690, lays down that every church having the administration of sacraments and sepulture is a parish church, although it may anciently have been subject to another church; and it would appear therefore that Carlton may have been legally a parish. The ancient chapel there known as St. Ellen's had passed in 1566 with the manor to the Wortleys, who built close to it a jointure house, and as a dowager of the family was residing at St. Ellen's under the Commonwealth (10), it seems probable that services continued to be held. Of the Royston register, more than half the page for 1643 has been cut away with a knife; at Carlton-in-Lindrick near Worksop and Carlton in Aldborough, twelve miles from Hull, no corresponding entry can be found. At the other Carltons,* which seem less likely, inquiry has not been made, the writer's conviction being that the marriage took place at Rotherham, which had passed again into the hands of the Royalists in May 1643.

The Court Rolls of Wentworth, as is shown by an entry quoted at the bottom of page 136, prove that in November 1641, six months after the execution of Strafford, Nicholas was still residing in that manor; it may be presumed, then, that he did not remove to Carlton until the following year. A Royalist attack upon Sir Edward Rodes's house at Great Houghton in September 1642 led to a great gathering of Roundheads upon Rotherham moor, and that town was settled as a garrison by Lord Fairfax. In February 1642/3 all persons in Aldwark, Rawmarsh, Greasborough, Kimberworth, and Ecclesfield, able to furnish money, plate, arms, or horses for the service of the Parliament, were ordered to appear in person at the Crown Inn in the High Street, Rother-

* There are several Carltons in Nottinghamshire, and in Yorkshire, Carlton in Craven, ten miles north-west of Guiseley, is an ancient parish.

ham, not failing at their peril. Notices of the same character must have been served in all the district round, and there may probably have been an exodus of all loyal subjects who could find means of escape.

Carlton in Royston is close to Wolley and Bretton, the seats of two younger branches of the Wentworth family, both of which played an active and distinguished part in the Civil War, and only three miles from Barnsley, where the Earl of Newcastle is said to have had a garrison. If Nicholas Hurt was acting as receiver or agent for Lord Strafford, there may have been more than one reason for his choice of Carlton. Hunter states that in the time of the Commonwealth Sir Thomas Wentworth of Bretton and his neighbour Sir George Wentworth of Wolley were entrusted by the second Earl of Strafford with the administration of the estates belonging to him while he was absent from England, and it is likely enough that the trust was imposed upon them immediately after the execution of the first Earl in May 1641.

In May 1643 Newcastle's army took Rotherham by storm, and at that very moment the country round Barnsley became unsafe. On the 21st May Sir Thomas Fairfax captured Wakefield and about the same time an attack upon Richard Elm-hirst's house in Worsborough proved the insecurity of all that neighbourhood. Rotherham remained in the hands of the King's party for about a year. In the spring of 1644 Newcastle retired to York, and after the defeat at Marston Moor in July, abandoning the struggle, he took ship for the Continent.

CHAPTER X

ICKLES HALL NEAR ROTHERHAM

MR. HURT evidently declined the offer made to him by Lord Strafford, as did also Mr. Edmunds of Worsborough and Richard Burrows, for in the later correspondence only Elmhirst and W. Bower are mentioned (1). He had returned to Wentworth, where he was living in December 1647, and though not acting as agent, kept in touch with Lord Strafford's business affairs. This is shown by the following receipt, found amongst the Irish pedigrees in the College of Arms:*

Nono die Januarii, Anno 1648.

Recd. of William Bower, Servant to the right hon.^{ble} William Earle of Strafforde by his Lo^{ps} appoint^{mt} the sum of five hundred Pounds Currant English money, and the same is part of one thousand Pounds due from the said Earle to my daughter Anne as part of her portion left her by her father S^r William Wentworth my late husband deceased. I say rec^d } 500l.

Test. G. Wentworth
Nicholas Hurt
Robert Somerseales.

Eliza: Wentworth

In the year last named, or possibly in 1649, Mr. Hurt removed to Ickles† at Brinsworth or Brinsford in the parish of Rotherham, a pretty little manor-house which, as appears by his Will, he had leased from Lady Reresby, grandmother of the Sir John Reresby who wrote the well-known Memoirs. No doubt the object of this removal was to obtain better opportunities of education for his children, of whom Nicholas in 1648 was twelve years old, Valentine eight, and Christian seven. The house, which came into possession of the

* *Irish Pedigrees*, xix, 26. Sir William Wentworth was brother to the great Lord Strafford.

† Known since the beginning of the eighteenth century as Ickles Hall. Sir Walter Scott introduces it in *Ivanhoe* under the name of 'Brinksworth Priory', owing to a mistaken belief that it had once formed part of the possessions of Roche Abbey.

Reresbys about 1250, had been rebuilt not long before November 1587 by that Thomas Reresby of Thrybergh who married a daughter of Babington the plotter, and in outer appearance remains to this day very much as he left it.

A mile from Rotherham and almost within a stone's throw of the Roman remains at Templeborough, is an ancient barn of impressive size (130 feet long), behind which stands the Ickles. The house is built of a dark-hued stone, taken perhaps from the neighbouring ruins. A boldly projecting chimney with mullioned windows on either side marks the position of the entrance hall, 19 feet deep by 30 wide and only 8 feet high, now divided into two rooms. The picturesque garden front has hardly been altered, and here, placed at the centre of the flower-garden, is a round stone-coped well of very unusual depth. Internally, the house suggests a great antiquity. One of the two staircases has steps of solid oak under the planking, with Elizabethan balusters, and there is a large chamber known as the chapel (about 34 feet by 20), with coved ceiling, blocked-up fireplace, old oak panelling, and outside stairway of stone. It may perhaps have been built on the site of the chapel attached to the older house, or have gained its name owing to popular suspicions that it was used for secret services by the Lady Reresby already mentioned, who was a Popish recusant. Several other rooms are mentioned in Mr. Hurt's Will of 1653. 'My ladie's chamber' was no doubt that over the hall, and the 'closets' may have been the two small apartments overlooking the garden. The 'little parlour', nursery and kitchen, are more difficult to identify. The garden planning must have been of the simplest; a small paved house-court, four large knots or parterres of box and flowers, with walks round and across the square and a circle at the well. The landscape on this side is uninteresting and will have been shut out by orchard trees, except on the central axis, where the Rother flows from Whiston through a pretty wooded cleft amongst the hills.

This description* was written when the writer visited Ickles for the second time in September 1897. But going

* A fuller account of the house will be found in an appendix.

there again in August 1905, he found the well filled in with cinders and refuse, the 'chapel' represented by a heap of broken mullions and stonework thrown out into the garden. The roof of this room had fallen in about a twelvemonth before, and the owner (Mr. Lister Kaye) pulled it down rather than be at the expense of repairing it. Guest, writing in 1869, describes this parlour as 'a large old banqueting room, now used for lumber, which once no doubt rang with many a wild carouse'.

Ickles as a place-name is usually associated with goblin-haunted ruins, such as Roman villas or encampments (2). Professor Meyer of Liverpool lays down that it is derived from a Celtic form of the Latin *ecclesia* (3). However that may be, there can at least be no doubt that the site in question is interesting and romantic, the Roman camp at Templeborough being close to the house and within the bounds of the little manor attached to it. Here in 1877 a columned building, supposed to be a *Prætorium* or Town Hall, was laid bare by the spade, and there were indications that after it had been destroyed by fire, a smaller modern edifice had been erected in its place.* The word 'temple', in early ages commonly applied to a Christian church, is not associated with any other Roman station in Britain, and it has been suggested that we have here the *Villa Regia* of Eadwine, that the columned building was the basilica he made thereon in *Campo Done* or Donafeld, which was destroyed in 633 by Cædwalla and Penda.

The little manor of Ickles, which seems to have taken its name from the house, can be traced back to the reign of Richard I, when Templeborough and Ickles were given by Ralph and Avicia de Normanville to Richard de Savile in marriage with Iclonia their daughter. This Richard and Ralph his son may have had a residence at the Ickles, as in 1322 we hear of a place there known by their name as 'Sayvile (4) sike'. Ralph, son of Richard de Savile, gave with his body to Roche

* Since this was written, the excavations conducted by Mr. W. T. Fremantle have shown that this Roman camp, founded about A.D. 50 over against the Brigantian hill-fort at Wincobank, was held by the Fourth Cohort of the Gauls, and may probably be identical with the station known as MORGIVM. The *Prætorium* or central building was occupied by the commander.

Abbey half a carucate in Brinsworth,* and Templeborough in the territory of Brinsworth, a property which the monks long afterwards held under the Reresbys of Thrybergh; upon his death without issue, the manor of Ickles came back by escheat to Ralph de Normanville. The latter about 1250 passed with Marjery his daughter, to Ralph de Reresby 'all the land which Ralph de Seiwell held of the gift of Ralph de Normanville, which was given with Iclonia his mother in



SIR RALPH DE NORMANVILLE

from the glass at Thrybergh

free marriage': the original charter, sealed with the arms of Normanville, was produced to the heralds at the Yorkshire Visitation of 1584-5. Sir John Reresby states that this Ralph de Reresby was possessed in 1252 of the 'Mannor-house called Th'Ickles in the Lordship of Brinsford',† and gives the following abstract of a lease dated in that year:

'1252. This is the agreement between Ralph de Reresby and Symon Scot of Rotherham, that is to say that the said Ralph has leased to the

* This close called 'Ichells' was in 1552 in the possession of Thomas Wentworth (4a).

† In 1086, Brinsford here called 'Brinsworth' was held with Thrybergh under William de Percy by a certain Rozeline, whose interest—or rather that of his eldest co-heir—came afterwards to the Yorkshire Baron Adam Swainson, founder of the priory of Monkbretton. Adam's elder daughter and co-heir married Alexander de Crevequer, and the mesne lordship under de Percy of these two places passed to her descendants, the Nevils and Hetons. One of the latter in the reign of Edward III

said Symon all his land of Th' Ickles with meadows and common pastures, etc., excepting the meadow which the monks of Roche hold of Ralph de Normanville. The term three years, the rent, half a pound of pepper. Witnesses, Sir Ralph de Eccleshall, Sir John de Bosvile, Sir Ralph de Normanville, Ralph, son of Ralph de Normanville, etc.'

The property leased by this agreement comprised some 300 or 400 acres, and in the phrase '*terram de th' Ickles*' all buildings upon the land would be included. There is no



SIR ADAM, SON OF RALPH DE RERESBY

reason to doubt that the manor-house was already in existence. The term was only for three years. A little later, Ralph de Reresby and Margery his wife pass by charter to Hugh de Roderham, clerk, all their holding in the territory of Brinsford.

sold his share to Scrope of Masham, so we find the Reresbys holding under the Scropes in the fourteenth century, just as the Normanvilles had held under de Crevequer in the twelfth. In the famous Scrope and Grosvenor controversy Sir Thomas Reresby deposed that he had been retained with Sir Henry Scrope in the first expedition of the Black Prince to Guyenne.

Rozeline was a predecessor of the Normanvilles, not only in Yorkshire but also at Stainton and Reresby in Lincolnshire, and his property at all these places came to Ralph de Normanville (1168-89) by marriage with a certain Avicia, who may have represented a younger co-heir. That Avicia was an heiress in both counties is quite clear. In 1203 she claimed land in Stainton of which Ralph de Normanville and she had been seised in the time of Henry II in right of the said Avicia, and in c. 1185-90, Ralph de Normanville grants to his son lands in Thrybergh and elsewhere 'by consent of Avicia my wife'. This Ralph gave one oxgang in Brinsford to the Templars in 1194-5, and his widow had two oxgangs there in 1203. See *Mon.* vol. ii, p. 540; *Barons of Pulford*, p. 19.

In the last quarter of the thirteenth century Richard de Gotham is residing at Ickles in right of Cecily his wife, niece and heir of the said Hugh de Roderham, Rector of Peniston. This Richard, upon his sale in 1280 of the site of the inn called the Swan in the beast market at Rotherham, reserved to himself and his heirs a rent of one penny, to be rendered with the best room and stable, to the use of the heir of the family upon Rotherham fair day.* His widow, Cicely, by a charter dated in the year 1300 '*apud le Hicelys*', promised to her son



RALPH DE RERESBY. *Ob. c. 1339*

John 'my manor of the Hicclys, which manor is known to belong to me by hereditary right after the death of Hugh, my uncle'; swore upon the holy Gospels to enfeof him in due time, and declared that if she were induced to perjure herself by a malignant spirit or the counsel of some seducing woman, such alienation should be of no force or effect. There is here

* 'I finde a deed wher Richard de Gotham and Cecilie his wife give to Joane their daughter that land which Mr. Alexander, Vicar of the moyetie of Rotherham, held of them, then reserving the rent to them and their heirs of one penny *per annum*, dated *Anno* 1280; which penny is yearly paid to me from the owner of the Swann Inn in Rotherham, and the best roome in the house and the best stable is by Custome reserved for the heir of this familie upon the ffair day.'

'1687. May 16. Being Whitsun Monday and Rotherham fair day, I went in the afternoon to the sign of the Swan, to receive my rent of one penny—a rent reserved upon the sale by my predecessors of that house some 400 years since, with the best room and stable to the use of the heir of the family upon Rotherham fair day.'

some mystery, which cannot now be explained. The manor of Ickles in Brinsford must not be confused with that of Brinsford itself, which came in 1336 to John Gotham, son of Cecily, in marriage with Godose, daughter and heir of John Letard of Rotherham(5). The Yorkshire Lay Subsidy of 1297 finds this '*Magister Johannes Letard*' and '*Cecilia de Gotham*' both resident at 'Brinisford', each having also a house in the town of Rotherham.



CECILIA DE GOTHAM

Cecily was succeeded at Ickles by her son, grandson, and great-grandson, all of whom bore the name of John, and after the death of the last, by Cecily his sister and heir, wife of Sir Thomas de Reresby. This latter Cecily is represented upon one of the windows of the church at Thrybergh in a high fourteenth-century head-dress, praying at a desk. In 1357-8 Sir Thomas let the house on a twenty years' lease by an indenture in Norman-French, of which an abstract will be found in Sir John Reresby's Family History. Curious particulars are given therein as to the rooms in the house, and

the privilege of fishing twice a week in the rivers of Don and Rother:

'This indenture testifies that Sir Thomas de Reresby has leased to William Fitz William le Barker* of Rotherham, the manor of Ickles with its appurtenances, to hold for the term of twenty years, paying yearly to the said Sir Thomas and to his heirs seven marks at two terms of the year. And the said William grants for himself and for his heirs that they will uphold the hall (*la sale*) and four chambers, one kitchen, one stable, one loft (*gercher*), one cattle-shed (*bover*), one grange, during the aforesaid term, and that the said houses shall be sustained with timber for repairs, wood for roofing, and with other necessities during the said term. And the said Sir Thomas grants to the said William that he may fish in the rivers of Don and Roder two days in each week during the said term. Given at Roderham, 31 Edward III.'

The second Sir Thomas de Reresby conveyed to trustees in 1383 all the lands which had been John de Gotham's, his uncle, and amongst these Ickles is mentioned. In 1397 the third Sir Thomas Reresby and Maude his wife leased to John de Mapples† 'the capitall messuage of Ickles with certaine lands thereto bylonging, with coneys, fishings, housbout, haybout, etc.; the terme twenty yeares, the rent six pounds and a marke.' The mention of 'housboot' here, as of timber in 1357-8, makes it clear that the old house was built of wood.

When Thomas Reresby married in 1508, his father settled upon him the capital messuage of 'Ekylis or Icklillis', which together with the corn mill was held by Robert Redfer at a rent of eleven pounds a year. In 1545 it was again let upon the same terms. As illustrating the scarcity of money and the cheapness of land under Henry VIII, Sir John quotes the lease given by Lionel Reresby of his 'messuage called the Ickles', then in the dower or feoffment of Margaret Reresby his mother, at a rent of £11 *per annum* without a fine. With it were included all the lands and tenements thereto belonging, the corn milne and the dams, the cutler-wheel only excepted. 'In y^e s^d Lease, y^e s^d Lionel reserves y^e libertie of fishing,

* In 1410 William Eyre, forester, son of Robert Eyre of Hope, is executor to William Barker of Rotherham. *De Banco*, Easter, 11 Hen. IV.

† In 1359 John de Mapples of Rotherham had been acting as guardian of the Yorkshire fees and franchises of Philippa, Queen of England (6). John, son of John de Mapple of Rotherham, occurs in 1347-8 (7); in 1379 John, son of William de Mapples of Rotherham, berker, with Margaret, his wife, Rose and John, his children, and Roger, his servant, pays the poll tax.

hunting, fouling and hauking in y^e premises; that y^e tenant shall not fish, but only wth pyches,* without leave; that he



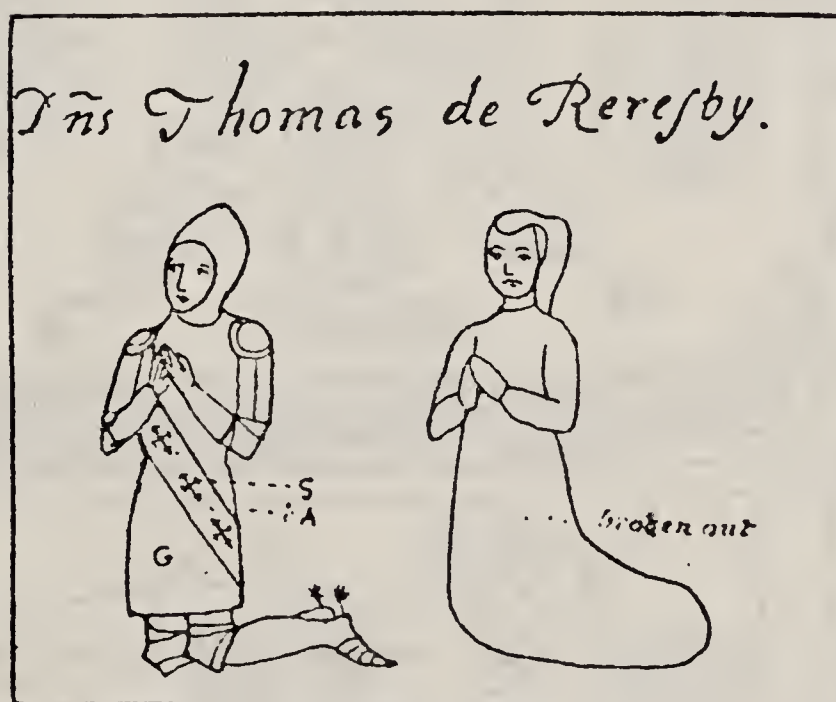
SIR THOMAS DE RERESBY I. Ob. ante 1383

should attend his Landlord with Hors & Harness in the King's warrs. Dated y^e 23 April, y^e 37th year of Henry 8.'

* A *piche* is a net 'pitched', i.e. made fast with stakes.



SIR THOMAS DE RERESBY III. Ob. 1439



SIR THOMAS DE RERESBY II

The manor of Ickles is mentioned in the inquisitions taken after the deaths of Ralph Reresby in 1530 and of Lionel Reresby in 1559. Lionel's younger brother, another Ralph,



THOMAS AND MARGARET DE RERESBY. *Temp. Hen. VIII*
from a carved bedstead



RALPH DE RERESBY. *Ob. 1530*
from the tomb at Thrybergh

describes himself as 'of the Ickles, Co: York', in his Will, which was proved (P.C.C.) on the 10th March 1609. We may suppose that he rented it, first, from his sister-in-law, who probably had it as part of her jointure, afterwards, from his great-nephew, Sir Thomas. His death in November 1609, was followed by one of those private wars in which the members of the Reresby family were far too prone to indulge. It appears that the furniture at Ickles was the property of Ralph, who not long before his death had been in negotiation for a new term of thirty years, the lease he formerly held having expired. The Executors of his Will claimed that a definite promise had been made to grant such a lease, and refused to give up possession. Proceedings in the Star Chamber followed in June 1610, Sir Thomas Reresby of Thrybergh, Knight, and George Reresby, Esquire, his son and heir, being plaintiffs, against Leonard Reresby and others, defendants. The Bill of Complaint is as follows:*

'Whereas Sir Thomas Reresby is lawfully seized of the Manor, capital messuage or tenement called Ickles, being one of the dwelling houses and ancient habitations of Plaintiff and his ancestors, and of divers lands thereunto belonging being in the parish of Rotherham, Co. York, which he had agreed to convey to the said George Reresby', the Plaintiffs had allowed one Raphe Reresby, being sick, uncle of Sir Thomas, to live in the said house at his earnest desire.

Since whose death last November one Leonard Reresby, pretending himself to be one of the Executors, claimed title to the premises, but knowing his supposed title could not prevail in a Court of Law, he assembled together a number of people, upwards of thirty, of riotous behaviour, who had long been trained in committing riots, routs, and unlawful outrages. Arrayed with swords, daggers, bills, pikes, long staves, horseman's staves, and divers other warlike and unlawful weapons, on 28 November last they marched towards the said house in Ickles, upon colour and pretence only to attend the corpse of the said Raphe Reresby deceased and to attend his burial.

The rioters returning from the funeral refused to leave

* Star Chamber Proceedings, James I, 250/16 and 17.

the house, and broke open all the locks of the said house (except of one room). Continuing there for some months after, by direction of the said Leonard Reresby they pulled down, broke up and took away, most part of the houses standing on the premises and the fences and hedges, wholly spoilt and defaced the Gardens and Orchards, burned the timber work of the Well belonging to the said house, and cut down the apple and pear trees and other timber. Finding the Plaintiff's servant, George Benney, driving cattle, the rioters called him 'rogue', 'rascal', 'villain', and other things 'not fitte heerein to be remembred'; assaulted him with their weapons, wounded him, and would have murdered him but for timely rescue by some passers-by. They also seriously wounded two other servants of the Plaintiffs, who occupied one room in the said house at Ickles, threatening to murder them if they came to the house again.

The Plaintiffs complained to John Mallyverer and Christopher Wraye, Esquires, two Justices of the Peace, who went to review the premises and to eject the rioters. But the latter refused to open the doors, swearing 'with many terrible and vile oathes' that they should not come in without good authority. In the end they yielded and, as the Justices entered, fled to escape being put into gaol. But on the 2nd April 1610, at the instigation of the said Leonard Reresby, they assembled again in arms, and entered at night into the said house, whereof they still hold possession.

The Plaintiffs ask that writs of subpœna may be directed to Leonard Reresby, gentleman, Thomas Johnson, clerk, Alexander Rashforth, Thomas Wilson, &c., &c.

In reply to this Bill, Leonard and four others of the defendants enter a Plea and Demurrer, on the ground that before it was exhibited one Robert Vicars, recovering by an action for debt against the said Sir Thomas Reresby in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster the sum of £133 6s. 4d. with £6 13s. 4d. costs, had thereupon sued forth process of Law and had outlawed the said Sir Thomas at the city of York on 26 March 1610. The said outlawry was undischarged, and because of it Sir Thomas had inserted in his Bill the name of George Reresby, who was no party nor

grieved by the supposed offences. The Defendants therefore demurred in law upon the said Bill of Complaint, demanding judgement whether they should be compelled to make further answer, and prayed to be dismissed with their costs.

Furthermore, Leonard Reresby and Arnald his brother brought a cross suit in the Star Chamber against Sir Thomas and others, the interrogatories and depositions turning largely on the question whether a lease had been promised or not.

The result of all this litigation does not appear, but Sir John Reresby informs us that his grandfather, Sir George, upon his marriage about the year 1610 set up house at the Ickles, the estate there and at Brinsford being settled upon him and his wife for their present maintenance. Here Sir George continued to reside for some time after the death of his father in 1619, being excluded from the family seat at Thrybergh by his mother, until coming one day from Ickles to make her a visit and finding her abroad, he shut-to the door and kept possession until 1628, when he died. Sir George, we are told, was tall and handsome,

‘remarkable for being expensive in his clothes and journeys, but a great manager at home. His diversion was sometimes hawks, but his chiefest was his breed of horses, in which he was very exact. His breed, however, was not of that reputation to get any profit thereby, and the keeping of much ground in his hands, both at Thrybergh and Ickles for the running of his horses, which he might have let at good rates, made it the more expensive.’

These particulars given by Sir John in his Family History show that from the reign of Elizabeth at the latest, the eldest sons of the successive owners of Thrybergh set up house at the Ickles, when they entered into those early marriages by contract which were the custom of the day; that to Ickles the successive dowagers returned upon the death of their husbands. The place must therefore have been inexpensive to maintain, but dignified in appearance, attractive in its surroundings, furnished with ample accommodation for a young family, with small but pleasant parlours and garden, and at least one large room which would enable the owner to offer occasional hospitality upon a larger scale. Such a room would

be required not only for dinners or suppers when a young couple was in residence, but for dances, when a widow had retired to the place with marriageable daughters. That the nurseries were commodious and ample we know, for Sir George, who settled there with his wife in 1609-10, was the father of fifteen children who lived to have their names and arms emblazoned upon the family pedigree, while the average for five generations works out at over eleven children to a marriage. There must also have been abundant stabling, for



SIR THOMAS DE RERESBY III. Ob. 1439

from the glass at Thrybergh

Sir George kept many horses, together with outbuildings sufficient to farm an estate of some 300 acres.

The central block of the existing house was apparently rebuilt about the year 1580. It is clear that Sir John did not know the date, for he deals at some length with the additions and improvements made at Thrybergh and elsewhere by his ancestors, yet says nothing of Ickles. If it had been erected in preparation for the marriage of Sir George in 1609-10, Sir John writing sixty years afterwards could not have failed to mention it. During the period ending in 1609 and possibly beginning as early as 1587, when the house was in lease to Ralph Reresby, a younger son, no alteration is likely to have been made. We therefore reach the conclusion that Thomas Reresby of Thrybergh, whose Will is dated in 1586, and who died in 29 Elizabeth, that is to say, within the year ending

16 November 1587, erected the present house, either in preparation for the marriage of his eldest son, Sir Thomas, which marriage took place in 1587-8, or as a residence for his widow. Lady Reresby, however, did not continue to live there, but soon sublet it to Ralph Reresby. After the death of the latter, Sir George Reresby, son of Sir Thomas, set up house at the Ickles upon his marriage in 1609 or 1610, and here he continued to reside for some years after the death of his father in 1619, being kept out of Thrybergh by his mother. The large banqueting room which formed the western wing of the house may probably have been built by him in about the year 1610.

The widow of Sir George, after the marriage of her eldest son about 1632, removed to the Ickles, which was her jointure, where she continued for many years. The western wing of the house, which shows on the side of the garden windows and masonry dated by Mr. Clapham as *circa* 1630, may have been an addition made by this Lady Reresby, who is described as 'a very comely woman for her age, tall and straight, of quick apprehension and of a good judgment, but much led and persuaded by her confessor and priest'.* She was farming her land at Ickles in 1638, and in July 1641 she (her name is given in error as Mary) and her daughters, Jane, Diana, and Dorothy Reresby, all being fifteen years and upwards, were returned to the Rotherham Sessions as recusants who had failed to attend their parish church during the month of April (8). Sir John Reresby states that his grandmother 'towards the latter end of the wars' went to London, and continued there till she died, about the 10th April 1665, aged seventy years and more. By her Will, dated 17 February and proved at Canterbury on the 5th May 1665, she left 'all my household stuff in my house at Ickles to him who shall be heir of the same', a bequest which took effect in the person of her grandson, the author and Governor of York.

* The Reresbys were late in accepting the reformed religion. The *List of Principal Gentry in the West Riding* which Gargrave forwarded to Lord Burghley in 1572, describes Sir Thomas as 'doubtfull or newtor' in matters of faith. In 1606 Sir Thomas and his wife are returned as non-communicants, and George Eglisam, M.D., a schoolmaster 'which teacheth the children of Sir Thomas Reresby' is in the same entry denounced as a Recusant. See *Yorks. Archæol. Rec. Soc.* vol. liv, p. xviii.

Nicholas Hurt mentions in a Will of 1653 his 'lease of Ickles from Ladie Reresby' and Lady Reresby's chamber in the house, bequeathing to his son-in-law, Nicholas Stafford, 'such goods of myne as now remayne in the house at Wentworth, wherein my said sonne in law dwelleth'. It seems clear that in 1649 Lady Reresby let the place with her furniture in it to Mr. Hurt, and as we know from later pleadings that the rent was £166 a year, some hundreds of acres of land must have been included with the house.

Whether Sir John's widow in her turn went to live at Brinsford after the death of her husband in May 1689, there is no evidence to show. But it may be so, for in the printed *Index Villaris* of 1690 Brinsforth (as the place was often called) in the West Riding appears as a village containing the seats of a baronet and of another gentleman, the latter no doubt Mr. Laughton of Howarth Grange. The place passed into other hands before 1705, being sold by the Sir William Reresby who ran through the estate and died as a tapster in the King's Bench prison. William Kent, gentleman, was 'of Ickles Hall' in 1727, as appears by a monumental inscription in Rotherham Church. Towards the close of the eighteenth century a Mr. Hall was residing there, whose mother was sister to John Walton of Thurlston (9).

In the seventeenth century the earthworks at Templeborough attracted the attention of the curious. Bishop Gibson, publishing in 1695 a translation of Camden's *Britannia* with 'additions and improvements', interpolated in the text the following paragraphs:

'Before the river Don comes to Rotherham it passes close by a fair Roman fortification, called Templebrough. The north-east corner of it is worn away by the river. The area is about two hundred paces long and one hundred and twenty broad, besides the *agger*, and without it is a very large Trench, thirty-seven paces deep from the middle of the rampire to the bottom. On the outside of it is another large bench, upon which are huge trees; and upon the side of the bench of the highway there grew a chestnut tree that had scarce any bark upon it, but only upon some top branches which bore leaves. It was not tall, but the bole could scarcely be fathomed by three men.

'On the north side of the river, over against Templebrough, is a high hill, called Wincobank, from which a large bank is continued without interruption almost five miles, being in one place called Danes Bank.'

There were still Roman remains above ground in the sixteenth century, for amongst the Rotherham town expenses for 1553 is a payment for carrying six loads of stones from Templeborough.

In the edition of Ray's Proverbs published in 1678 we have the following lines written, it is supposed, by 'old Carr'* of Ecclesfield, who died in 1601:

*When all the world shall be aloft,
Then Hallam-shire shall be Gods croft.
Winkabank and Temple brough,
Will buy all England through and through.*

Ray acknowledges in his Preface that he has had assistance from observant and inquisitive persons in all parts of the kingdom, and the first he names is 'Francis Jessop Esq; of Broom-hall in Sheffield parish, Yorkshire'. He appends the following note:

'*Winkabank* is a wood upon a hill near *Sheffield*, where there are some remainders of an old Camp. *Temple brough* stands between the *Rother* and the *Don*, about a quarter of a mile from the place where these two rivers meet. It is a square flat of ground encompassed by two trenches. *Selden* often enquired for the ruines of a temple of the god *Thor*, which he said was near *Rotherham*: This probably might be it, if we allow the name for any argument: because there is a Pool not far from it called *Jordon-dam*, which name seems to be compounded of *Jor* one of the names of the god *Thor* and *Don* the name of the river.'

Another indication of the superstitious regard in which the place was held is furnished by Sir John Reresby's story of an unpleasant adventure in which he was involved in 1663 by an old soldier, who pretended he was able to discover a place in Templeborough where some considerable sum of money had been hidden during the Civil War.

* Richard Carre de Butterthwait, *senex*, who was buried at Ecclesfield 30 December 1601. The meaning of the lines seems to be that 'when flying in the air has become common, Hallamshire will be specially favoured; Sheffield and Rotherham will be worth as much as the rest of England put together', or 'will redeem all England'. The future development of the iron and steel trade might be foreseen by a shrewd observer, but the prophecy is remarkable as attributing the climax of prosperity to the moment when flying came into use. Carr foretold also the blow given to Hallamshire by the non-residence of its lords:

*'When Sheffield park is ploughed and sown,
Then little England hold thine own.'*

Coming events cast their shadows before, and these shadows are longer than the world is apt to believe.

CHAPTER XI

A WILL OF 1653

ON the 6th April 1653 Nicholas Hurt of Ickles in the county of York made his Will, 'beinge somewhat sickely in body but of good and perfect memory (praised be god therefore), caleinge to mynd the uncertaintie of this present life, and beinge desirous to settle my estate in peace after my departure'. The document has so much of personal interest that it has been thought well to give it *in extenso*.

'*In primis*, my Soull I do commit to god who gave it, beinge assured of the pardon of all my sinnes by faith in Christ Jesus my alone Saviour and redeemer. And my bodie I committ to the Earth whence it came, and to be decentlie buried in the church or chappell of Wentworth in the said County of Yorke at the discretion of my freinds, hopeinge of the resurreccion ther of to life eternall at the last day by the vertue of Christ my head. And my worldlie goods and personall estate I do dispose of in manner and forme followinge:—

'*In primis*, my will and mynd is that my funerall charges and expences and all my debtes by bound or otherwise be paid and satisfied forth of my whole goods and personall estate, and accordinge to the laudable custome of this province I will that Mary Hurt my now wife, me surviveinge, shall have one third parte of the said cleare personall estate in full discharge of her right there unto. And I do hereby further give and bequeath to my said wife a horse, side sadle and furniture, beseemeinge her estate and condicion, and my will and mynd is that my said wife shall continue and live at Ickles with my executor soe longe as shee shall please and keepe her selfe unmarried (yf my lease of Ickles from the Ladie Reresby shall soe longe continue), and to have her diett and consideracion*

* To take or pay interest was still forbidden by ecclesiastical and civil law, but as Sir Simon d'Ewes pointed out to the House of Commons in 1640, it had never been held to be wrong to pay a man damages for the loss which he suffered by abandoning

for her money allowed her soe longe as shee shall please to live with my executor. And when shee shall dislike, then to have her said third parte due out of my estate paid by my executor in three yeares next after the said dislike by equall porcions, and consideracion for it in the meane tyme. And alsoe upon her said dislike (if shee still continue my wife) to enter to those grounds on that side Ickles lane towards the river Dun, and to the kitchen, litle parlor and nurserie, the maides' Garets and closetts, and my ladie's Chamber* and the Barley lath, and to pay a proporcionable rent yearly for those grounds shee shall soe have, accordinge to the whole I have in lease at Ickles, and to enjoy it soe longe as shee shall remayne unmarried and noe longer.

'And ffurther my will and mynd is and I doe hereby give and bequeath to my sonne in law, Joshua Linley, five pounds currant money of England to be paid within two yeares next after my decease, which I give him as a legacie in respect of the care, paines and trust, hereafter specified and by me reposed in him. And I doe further give and bequeath unto my daughter Ann, wife unto my said sonne Joshua Linley, five pounds currant money of England as a legacie to be paid within two yeares next after my decease; and I do further bequeath unto Mary Linley, Hanna Linley and Sara Linley, the three daughters of Joshua Linley by my daughter Ann, ech of them five markes currant money of England to be paid them within thre yeares next after my decease. And my further will and mynd is and I do hereby give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth, wife to Nicholas Stafforth my sonne in law, such goods of myne as now remayne in the house at Wentworth wherein my said sonne in law Nicholas Stafforth now dwelleth, and twenty pounds of currant money of England to be paid her within thre yeares next after my decease.

for a time the use of his capital. The House accordingly paid 'damages' of eight per cent. to Mr. Harrison, who had advanced £50,000 on the security of the coming subsidies, and such phrases as 'consideration money' came into use. See Dr. Gardiner's *History of England*, 1884, ix. 255.

* These rooms would probably represent a third of the house. In 1650 a third part of the manor-house at Alderwasley was set out for Mrs. Lowe, widow of Edward Lowe, Esq.; namely, the kitchen, dining parlour, old parlour, closet, maid's chamber, and the chamber which she and her late husband had occupied (1).

'Item, I give and bequeath unto my servant, John Smith, my best suite of apparell save one, and unto every servant which shall bee at my house at my departure, whether day-tale workeman or servant, to ech of them two shillings six pence. And to every of my Godchildren which shall be then alive, twelve pence. And to every Collier w^{ch} shall worke with me at my death, six pence. And I do give and bequeath to the most needful poore of the Chappellrie of Wentworth fourty shillings, to be disburst and disposed of at the discreession of the then overseers of the poore of the said Chappellrie. And I do give and bequeath unto my kinsman Renold Hurt* five shillings as a legacie, and I give and bequeath unto my good freind John Kaye of Masbrough fourty shillings as a legacie, in respect of the care and paines I desire him to take in seeinge the performance of this my last will and Testament, accordinge to my true meaneinge. And whereas I am Tenant to parte of two Colemynes and the terme uncertaine, my will and mynd is that if my executor shall hould and continue the possession of the same for the tyme and space of three yeares after my decease, he shall pay unto my two eldest daughters, Ann Linley and Elizabeth Stafforth, either of them five poundes currant money of England within one month then next after; and unto Valentine Hurt and Richard Hurt, two of my yonger children either of them Tenn poundes currant money of England within one moneth next after the end of the said three yeares next after my decease.

'All the rest of my goods, chattells, cattells, rights, creditts and debtes and personall estate, the said ffunerall charges debts and legacies above specified and my said wive's third

* After the name, the word 'twenty' has been erased, 'five' being put in its place, and a long erasure follows in which may be read the words 'and I desire him... executor after my decease'. This 'kinsman Renold Hurt', whom the Will originally appointed as Executor, is Reginald Hurt of Warmsworth, on the road from Rotherham to Doncaster, brother of the Bennet Hurt married at Wentworth in 1627. 'Reignalde, son of Walter Hurt senior' (Walter of Nether Colmes) was baptized at Bradfield, 8 May 1608. He married at Doncaster in 1653, Isabel, daughter of William Ellis of Warmsworth, and had John Hurt, under age in 1660, Sara and other children. Hunter, by an unfortunate guess, made this Reginald and his wife father and mother of Valentine Hurt: 'I cannot hesitate', he writes, 'to claim these as the parents of Valentine Hurt' (2). There was at Bradfield a family of Ellis of Midhope Hall, of whom Sir George in James I's time was one of the Council of the North (3).

parte and legacie first discharged, I do hereby give and bequeath unto Nicholas Hurt, Valentine Hurt, Christian Hurt and Richard Hurt, my yonger children unpreferred for their and every of their child's partes and portions forth of my whole personall estate. And I do hereby desire my said wife, Mary Hurt, to take care for the education of my youngest child Richard Hurt (shee beinge his mother) and I do apointe her to receive of my executor (hereafter named) yearely the consideration of my said sonne Richard Hurt's portion, to maintaine him with all till his portion shall become due to be paid to him by this my last will and Testament, and to have such moneyes allowed her as shall bee expended to help him to be bound apprentice to a trade forth of his said portion and consideracion money.

'And further my will and mynd is that my executor (hereafter named) shall pay unto Valentine Hurt, Christian Hurt and Richard Hurt, my three yonger children, such parte of my goods, cattells, chattells, rightes, creditts, debtes and personall estate, as are given and bequeathed unto every of them by this my last will and Testament, when they shall accomplish their severall and respective ages of one and twentie yeares or bee married, and in the meane tyme to pay consideration for the same as is hereafter expressed. That is to say, to pay the consideracion for my yongest child Richard Hurt's portion yearely to his Mother, Mary Hurt, soe longe as shee shall educate and keepe him, and afterwards to such as shall have the tuition of him, till he be of lawfull yeares to receive it himselfe. And for Valentine Hurt and Christian Hurt, two other of my yonger children, my will and mynd is that my executor shall keepe them with him with meate, drinke, apparell, lodginge, and washinge befittinge their condicion, untill such tyme as they be fitt to putt abroad, and to pay noe consideracion money for their porcions for that tyme, and shall alsoe have such moneyes allowed him as shall be expended to help Vallentine Hurt to be bound apprentice to a trade. And that the consideracion money yearlie due to be paid for Valentine Hurt's porcion after he goe from my executor untill his porcion be due to be paid, shall stay in the executor's hands and be paid together with the

remaynder of his porcion, besides what shalbe expended in putting him apprentice, when it is due to him by this my last will and Testament.

‘And further my will and mynd is that when Christian Hurt, one of my said children, shall goe from my executor, my executor shall pay consideracion for her porcion yearelie unto such as shall have the tuition of her, untill her said porcion become due to be paid. And in case any of my said four yonger children unpreferred shall departe this life before such child or children shall attaine to the age of one and twenty yeares, or be married. Then my will and mynd is that the Survivour or Survivours of my said four yonger children, together with my two eldest daughters, Ann Linley and Elizabeth Stafforth, shall receive and equalie have amongst them the porcion or porcions of such child or children soe dyeinge.

‘And I do hereby constitute, ordaine and make the said Nicholas Hurt, one of my said yonger children, sole executor of this my last will and Testament, hoping he will performe the same as my trust is in him. And I do desire my two sonnes in law, Joshua Linley and Nicholas Stafforth, and my freind John Kay, to be Supervisors hereof, reposeinge trust and speciall confidence in them to see the same performed accordinge to my true meaneinge, and to have all their charges allowed which in any respect there abouts they shalbe put to expend. In witnes whereof I have hereunto put my hand and Seale, the day and yeare first above written.

Nicholas Hurte.’

(Circular seal of the initials ‘N.H.’ with a neatly cut sprig between them.)

‘Sealed, subscribed and published in the presence of

John Kaye,
John Kaye junior.’

‘Upon further consideracion of the greate burthen I have laid upon my sonne Nicholas Hurt, in makeinge him sole executor of my last will and Testament, he beinge yonge and may be drawne by evell counsell to doe things contrary to my will and mynd therein exprest, or by evell husbandry

wast the estate I have there by left to the rest of his brothers and sisters. Therefore my further will and mynd is that my two sonnes in Law, Joshua Linley and Nicholas Stafforth, be joynt executors with him, and that he shall give them accompts yearely how he disposeth of all things, and if upon perusall of the estate they find a faileinge, then they to take Valentine Hurt and Christian Hurt's porcions left to them by my said will into their hands and dispose of them accordinge as I have exprest in my said will. In witnes hereof I have hereto sett my hand and seale this twenty. fift day of January one thousand six hundred fifty and three.

Nicholas Hurte.

'Witnesses here of,

John Kaye
Mary Hirt
Elizabeth Stafforth.

'This will and codicill were proved att London before the judges for Probate of wills and graunting Administracions, the second day of ffebruary in the yeare of our lord god, English Stile, 1654, by the oathe of Joshua Linley one of the executors, &c., to whome was committed Administracion, he being by vertue of a Commⁿ first sworne truely to administer. Power being reserved the like Administracion to be committed unto Nicholas Hurt and Nicholas Stafforth, the other executors, &c. when they, &c.

'27 January, 1657, Nicholas Hurte, the Executor within named, Sworne.

Ro: Wyseman.

'Yorks. Commission for Joshua Lynley as sole executor directed to Francis Rockley, Esq. Nicholas Broadley* Clarke and William Hayford, gent.'

This codicil was signed by the Testator 'in his extremitye', as appears by Linley's Answer to a Chancery suit of later date, in the presence of Mary Hurt, the younger Nicholas

* This Nich. Broadley, curate of Cawthorne and apparently Vicar of Silkston, had married the widow of Robert Swift of Nabbs in Silkston. *Fam. Min. Gent.* 900. William Hayford was agent to Francis Rockley. See Joseph Wilkinson, *Worsborough*, pp. 84-91.

Hurt, and of Mr. John Kaye,* 'who writ both the said will and codicill'.

The story of the Will seems to have been as follows. In April 1653, being attacked by illness not apparently of a serious nature, Nicholas considered once again the disposition of his property after death. From an earlier Will, made shortly after his marriage in 1643, he lifted the first two paragraphs with part of the third; the other provisions he dictated to a friend, who took them down in writing. They are so well expressed as to suggest long experience in drafting business letters and reports. The testator's heart was in his old life at Wentworth, and in the chapel there, where his first wife had been laid to rest more than twenty years before, he chose to be buried.† The number of his god-children shows that he had many friends. He was religious in a simple way—the 'plain, unaffected piety' of the old epitaphs—and had a strong sense of responsibility. There is something touching about his anxiety when actually in the pains of death to safeguard the interests of his children. Yet the second thoughts of the codicil were not the best thoughts. It is hardly possible to introduce in testamentary arrangements a system of checks and counterpoises as elaborate as those which were once to be found in the British Constitution, when there was a British Constitution, and a single executor, however inexperienced, may be preferable to a divided authority which passes the estate to the lawyers.

The younger Nicholas, in order that he might be able to support himself if other means of livelihood failed, had been bound long since to a trade in the City; perhaps as far back as February 1648/9, for the usual age of apprenticeship was fourteen and the term of service seven years. From London,‡

* John Kaye of Nabbs, gentleman and ironmaster, afterwards of Masborough, where he made his Will on the 12th May 1669 (4). Thomas Edmunds, Esq., of Worsborough, in his Will of 1662 mentions his beloved friends Mr. John Kay and Mr. John Malyn, gentlemen.

† The Rotherham Register under date of 27 December 1653 records the sepulture of 'Nicholas Hurtt, 27 *die.* at Wentworth'. The month should be January.

‡ 'Your Orator, at the time of the death of his said father, being an Apprentice here in the City of London.' Nicholas was unaware of the purport of the Codicil, 'the same being done in private, if any such thing bee,' but it appears by Linley's 'Answer' that he was in the house when it was signed.—'And without that this Defendant did use any clandestine or indirect meanes to be made an executor by the

where on the 16th December he may have seen Oliver Cromwell 'in a plain black suit and cloak' passing to Westminster Hall to be installed as Protector, he was summoned to the death-bed of his father in Yorkshire. On the 28th, the day after the funeral, he set out again from Rotherham on the return journey in the company of Linley,* who on the 2nd February 1653/4 proved the Will and obtained Letters of Administration. Power was reserved to commit like Administration to Nicholas,† the latter not taking the oaths, for the reason that he had complete confidence in his brother-in-law or because his family thought he had better wait till he was a little older. According to his own account, the Will was not shown to him, and he was unaware of the provision which made him a co-Executor. Nicholas soon arranged to leave his master; having bidden farewell to his friends and gathered together his clothes and papers, he rode down again into Yorkshire. In the same month of February he entered into occupation of the Ickles, but the nature of his tenancy was not defined, and disputes as to the true interpretation of the Will eventually led to proceedings in Chancery.

By his Bill of Complaint, dated 22 February 1657/8, Nicholas represents that his father was in his lifetime possessed 'of a personall estate in ready sterling to the value of 2000 *li.* & upwards, & amongst other things of a lease of certain colemines for divers years to come of the vallue of 50 *li.* & upwards above all reprizes, & of a lease of a messuage & divers lands in Ickles for divers years to come of the vallue of 200 *li.*, and being so possessed about April, 1653, made his

said deceased, it being his own Acte, and the Complainant and Mary and Mr. John Kaye, who writ both the said will and codicil, being present.'

* Linley removed before 1658 from Wentworth to Fallthwaite in the parish of Stainborough: he, or a relation of the same name, was living at Worsborough in 1687, and was buried there on the 5th February 1696/7. The '... Lindley of Gitehouse, living 1692', who married Elizabeth, daughter of William Wood, gent. of Nabbs in Silkston, may have been his son. In 1748 another Joshua, perhaps a grandson, as representative of the Swinden family voted for the election of a lecturer at Worsborough appointed by the Will of John Rayney, Esqre. from whose niece the Swindens were descended (5).

† An infant could be appointed executor, and was capable of acting as soon as he reached the age of seventeen. Nicholas was already eighteen years old when his father died.

last will, and thereby amongst other things gave great legacys unto your orator and his brothers and sisters'. He complains that Linley, having obtained possession of the Will, has made colourable forfeitures of the leases, has paid sums of money for the redeeming of the forfeitures, has taken new leases in his own name, and now declines to render any account of the personal estate.

Linley in his 'Answer' sworn at Silkston on the 24th April 1658 denies that the personal estate was of the worth represented, or that the lease of Ickles was of the clear yearly value of £200 specified in the Bill of Complaint. He acknowledges that the Inventory of 'moneys, cattell, chattels, household goods, husbandry geare and other profits' amounted to the value of £870 18s. 10d.; that he has disposed of goods to the value of £67, and has received £60 from the Birkwood pits. Besides the payment of a third of the clear personal estate to Mrs. Hurt, he furnishes a partial account of expenditure amounting to £764 18s. 6d.:

'And saith that since the time that hee, this Defendant, entered upon the said Executorshipp, hee this Defend^t hath disbursed for the necessary use of the Complainant in Moneys and Apparell the sum of twenty four pounds or thereuppon. And for tableing of the complainant and keeping him a horse the sum of tenne pounds, besides Corne and haye which the Complainant with his Compliants tooke forceably away from this Defendant, amounting to the value of twenty pounds, as this Defend^t hopeth to prove. And besides that hee the said Nicholas Stafford hath received in plate and lynneings to keepe for the use of the said Children to the value of twenty pounds. And that John Stafford* hathe alsoe receaved about seaven pounds in moneys for goods kept for the said Children.

'And as concerning this Defendant his entering and possessing himself of the goods and personall estate of the said Nicholas Hurtt deceased, this Defendant saith that hee entered into and disposed thereof, To witt for so much thereof as amounted to three score and seaven pounds. And for

* The Rotherham Register under date of July 3 1645 records the marriage of John Stafforth and Elizabeth Skyers.

the remainder thereof, the said Complainant and the said Mary without the Consent of this Defendant entered thereunto, which amounted in the whole to the value of three score pounds and upwards, as this Defendant hopeth to proove. And is ready to make his further accompt touching the premisses, as this Honorable Courte shall appointe. And further saith that he this Defend^t hath paid for the debts of the said Nicholas Hurtt deceased to severall persons, in the whole amounting to the sum of a hundred pounds or thereuppon. And for the other younger children of the said deceased, to the value of twenty marks for the supply of their present necessities and preferment.

‘And saith that he keepeth the said last will and testament of the said deceased by him so proved as abovesaid for his own defence, as hee conceiveth hee may lawfully doe. And this defend^t further saith that by agreement made with the said Mary Hurtt, he delivered to her soe much of the said deceased’s goods and personall estate as amounted to foure hundreth forty and six pounds nyne shillings and two pence, where with she undertook to pay and satisfye soe many of the said deceased’s debts* to such persons as were nominated, as the said goods and other things so delivered as would equall the said debts. And upon payment would deliver unto this Defend^t the speciallities which concerned the said debts, which debts shee saith shee hath satisfied, but denyeth to deliver the speciallties, as she promised. And that the Ingrossing of the said last will and testament of the said deceased & of the Inventory, Probate of the will, and other Fees of Courte and charges thereabout as doth amounte unto foure pounds two shillings and eight pence.

‘And further saith that the said Mary Hurtt claimed and had one third part of the said clear personall estate of the said deceased as due unto her. And that there are goods and other parcells of the said personall estate of the said deceased yett undisposed remayninge at Ickles, as amounteth to the sum of three score pounds, as hee verily believeth, which the Complainant & the said Mary retaine over and above such

* Apparently future rents under the leases, ‘which were properly to have been paid by the executors as the same should become due’.

and soe much of the said personall estate as they have disposed of att their pleasure wth out this Defend^{ts} Consent, dwelling nyne or tenn miles distant from Ickles, where the said goods were and where the said complainant and Mary dwell, the value whereof this Defend^t knoweth not.'

The pleadings do not enable us to draw a complete balance sheet of the Executor's dealings with the personal estate, but payments to the amount of £804 18s. 6d. are stated, exclusive of the third of the clear personal estate which was handed over to Mary, of £70 stated to have been wasted by her and Nicholas, and of other goods at Ickles disposed of by them. These payments can be shown more clearly in the form of a Creditor account:

Joshua Linley, Creditor.

	£	s.	d.
Received by John Kaye for the use of the children	40	0	0
For the use of the Complainant (Nicholas), in moneys and apparell	24	0	0
For 'tableing of the Complainant, & keeping him a horse'	10	0	0
Corne & hay for the horse, forcibly taken by the Complainant	20	0	0
Plate & linen, delivered for the use of the said children	20	0	0
Received by John Stafford for goods sold	7	0	0
Goods and personal estate entered into by Nicholas and Mary	60	0	0
Paid for the debts of Nicholas Hurt the father	100	0	0
For the supply and preferment of the other younger children	13	6	8
Goods, &c. delivered to Mary Hurt	446	9	2
Charges of ingrossing the Will, inventory, probate, &c.	4	2	8
Goods still remaining at Ickles	60	0	0
Other goods disposed of by the Complainant & Mary, value unknown	0	0	0
	<hr/> £804 18 6		

The proceedings in Chancery throw some light upon family life at the Ickles, but they are also interesting from quite another point of view. The arrangements made by the Will were so intricate, the sequel was so unexpected, that in trying to follow out what really happened, one feels the thrill of a detective romance; the plot turns upon unknown points of law, as for instance whether in the seventeenth century a mineral lease was held to be personalty or realty, and the story when at last recovered proves to be the tragedy of a young life.

English law in the seventeenth century was at a lower stage of development, differing not only in practice but to a large extent in theory also from the law of to-day. Here we enter upon an almost unknown land, for no legal antiquary has yet appeared patient enough to unravel and record the story of its growth, and the existence of such differences is practically ignored by historians. The reader will probably be aware that up to the last decade of the seventeenth century, no one could dispose by Will of more than a third of his personal estate. Whether he died intestate or not, one third passed upon death to his widow, while another was divided in equal shares among his children. If ousted by the Will of their rights, widow and children could recover at law by the writ *De rationabile parte bonorum*. In the reign of Charles I, Sir Henry Finch lays it down expressly that this is the general law of the land, and it continued in force until the 26th March 1693, when the Act of 4 William and Mary, enlarging the powers of a Testator, came into effect(6).

The Will of 1653 shows that Mr. Hurt's two daughters had been provided for at marriage, and the general effect of it, apart from a few trifling legacies, was to divide his personalty into sixths, of which two were to pass to his widow, one each to his four younger children. In other words, the third of which alone he had power to dispose was to be divided in equal shares among the latter. A great part of the Testator's available capital being invested in farming stock, in order that it might be possible for his heirs to continue the lease of the Ickles, he directed that the portions of his three youngest children should remain in undivided shares until

they came of age. Mrs. Hurt might claim hers when she chose, and this was in effect paid to her by three equal annual instalments, apparently in 1654-6; Valentine was to receive his share in February 1659/60, Christian in January 1661/2, Richard not before 1665, and possibly three or four years later. If we may accept Nicholas's estimate of £2,000 as the value of the personalty apart from the leases, each share would be worth £333 6s. 8d. upon which interest at the legal rate of six per cent. would bring in £20 a year. To this must be added a proportionate part of the capital value of the leases.

A puzzling feature of the Will is that Nicholas, though the eldest son, is actually put at a disadvantage as compared with his younger brothers and sister. No legacy is given him for acting as Executor. They are to receive consideration money upon their portions, but nothing is said as to his receiving it. He is apparently to cancel at his own expense his indentures of apprenticeship, devoting his whole time and energy for years to come without remuneration of any kind to the management of the mines and farm; if the personal estate is thereby increased, he is to receive at the utmost only a quarter of the improved value. An arrangement so unfair cannot have been really intended, and we must assume that just as the two elder daughters had been portioned at marriage, so for Nicholas some other provision must have been made, though the exact nature of it is not apparent.

A possible explanation of the difficulty is offered by a statement in Linley's Answer, which suggests that the mines at Birkwood had not passed under the Will, but had descended to the younger Nicholas by inheritance as freehold:

'Hee is advised by Councell that, in regard the lease of the said coal mynes at Birkwood afforesaid was not prised nor inventoried after the death of the said Nicholas Hurtt the father as parte of his personall estate, the cleare profits of the said coal mynes at Birkwood afforesaid did and doth properly belong unto him this Defendant for the space of aboute two yeares, dureing such tyme as the Complainant was under the age of one and twenty yeares;* and that the half profits of the said coal

* It is difficult to understand this claim. If the lease were held to amount to a tenure in socage, Linley as next of kin would be guardian of Nicholas until he

mynes at Kimberworth afforesaid doth yet belong unto this Defendant, since that tyme that the said Complainant hath attained the full age of one and twenty yeares, in regard this Defendant by a Codecill . . . was made Executor.'

The distinction here drawn between the Kimberworth pits, which were evidently inventoried as part of the personal estate, and the Birkwood pits, which were not so inventoried, can only be explained on the supposition that owing to some difference of tenure the latter did not pass under the Will, but as real estate descended to the younger Nicholas. This may probably have been the intention of his father, who speaks of being 'tenant to parte of two cole pits or mines* and the terme uncertaine', whereas we know from later pleadings that he was tenant to four coal-pits, of which two were in lease; and in the preface to the Will purports to dispose by it only of his 'worldlie goods and personal estate', thus excluding any real property of which he may have been possessed.† The mines of which the Testator was part-tenant must have been those at Kimberworth, from which the Executor later on is receiving only half profits, and as only one lease is referred to in later pleadings and that always in connexion with Birkwood, we must assume that at Kimberworth there was but a yearly tenancy.‡ Linley makes no claim to the profits of the Birkwood pits after Nicholas came of age, and his statement that Valentine 'hath right in the said Coal mynes together with the rest of his brothers and sisters respectively equall with the Complainant' seems by the context to allude only to the mines at Kimberworth. To Kimberworth young Nicholas may also be referring when he asserts that his father's personal

attained the full age of twenty-one, but would be accountable for the profits; if it were a tenure *in feodo*, Linley, not being lord of the land or mines, would not be entitled either to the guardianship or to the profits. In any case his position as Executor would give him no claim, for the Will did not make him testamentary guardian.

* The pits at Kimberworth are spoken of in the plural as 'mynes' in Linley's Answer.

† Wentworth being in the parish of Wath, it seems probable that the wood of twelve acres called the Boyd Royd in that parish, which Mr. Jonathan Hurt mentions in his Will, had descended to him from his grandfather.

‡ The first Lord Strafford held the manor and park of Kimberworth by lease from the heirs of Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury. Guest, p. 585.

estate included a lease which Linley was concealing or had cancelled of 'certain Colemines for divers years to come of the value of 50 *li.* and upwards'; for the mines at Birkwood made a much larger return, and Nicholas having never seen his father's Will may well have been ignorant whether there was a lease or not.

In the reign of Charles II, no doubt under the Commonwealth also, the laws relating to land were undergoing a rapid process of change. Then as now ordinary leaseholds, though described as 'chattels real' in reference to their origin, were not permitted to rank as real estate, but devolved as personalty upon the Executor(7). As regards mineral tenancies there is no information. But it seems very possible that coal being 'land' in the eyes of the law, a lease drawn in the form of a sale of the coal, or made for a term long enough to work it out, may have been held to pass it as freehold. If so, a third of the Birkwood mines would pass for life to Mrs. Hurt, and we do in fact find her working them in conjunction with her step-son.

Whether the Testator did or did not desire that the mines of Birkwood should pass to his eldest son, it was clearly his intention that the latter should take over at a valuation the lease at Ickles and the tenancy at Kimberworth. This intention, though not expressed in so many words, may be inferred from several passages in the Will, which assumes throughout that the portions of Mrs. Hurt and of the youngest children are not uncertain in amount, but certain. Mrs. Hurt is to receive every year interest upon her own and Richard's portion; the interest upon Valentine's sixth is to remain in the Executor's hand and to be paid when the capital is due. It is indicated also by the codicil, which expresses a fear, not that Nicholas may fail to increase the estate, but that he may 'waste' it, and directs the other Executors to take over Valentine's and Christian's portions only if they 'find a faileinge'. It is made clear by the general tenor of the provisions, for how could the other children be paid off except out of profits, and when they had been paid off and had released their claims, to whom could the residue fall except to Nicholas? It is finally demonstrated, as one would think, by the failure

to stipulate that Nicholas like the others shall receive interest, still more so by the absence of any direction that his portion shall be paid him when he comes of age.

The share of Nicholas differs then as regards security from those of his brothers and sisters. It is to remain at the bottom of the bag, forming a reserve which will guarantee the others against loss of principal. If by bad management or by one of those strokes of ill luck to which farms and mines are subject, the estate is diminished, the loss falls wholly upon him until his whole fortune is wiped out. In case of a shrinkage in value, the brothers-in-law, who by the Will are Supervisors, by the codicil co-Executors, are to take over the portions of Valentine and Christian. That of Richard the youngest they are not to take over, so carefully has the Testator thought out his scheme, because Richard's mother having means of her own will be able to provide for him. Nicholas alone must then take the risk of being left penniless if he fail; surely if he succeeds he is to reap the reward of success?

This reward, if he is allowed to take it, may be considerable. The lease of Ickles, with the coal tenancy, formed the most valuable part of the personal property, the former, after allowing £32 for interest upon farming capital, being likely to produce about £300 a year. Of the amount named, some of course represents insurance against risk, and a much larger proportion is really wages of superintendence. The privilege of taking over the leases is therefore more important than it would appear at first sight, because the value placed upon them must be very moderate. A valuer may put his own estimate upon a lease of minerals or land for a term of years to come, though as a high rate of interest must be allowed for various risks, the figure will probably prove in the long run to have been exceedingly favourable to the purchaser or incoming tenant. But what one cannot or may not prize is the advantage to a managing lessee of fixed and remunerative employment. From a purely economic point of view it might be possible to say: 'This person has obtained an engagement which is likely to be permanent at a good salary, and would be well advised to

pay a sum of . . . rather than to relinquish it.' But in the absence of precedents, owing to want of familiarity with the subject and to a not unreasonable feeling that the principle if admitted might now and again be the cause of grievous hardship, no court of law or equity would allow such an item to stand; still less would it listen to an argument that the party concerned being without experience or special qualification—one amongst a host of applicants—could never hope to secure such a position elsewhere. The leaseholds then were certain to come to Nicholas at a low figure, and he might hope with industry and good fortune to pay off the other members of the family out of profits, and eventually to step into his father's shoes.

It is clear that the tenancies (except Birkwood) were not only inventoried as part of the personal estate, but were actually 'prised'* or valued for the purpose of being handed over to Nicholas. But here comes in a result of the codicil quite unforeseen by the Testator. Linley was evidently advised by Counsel that as Executor he had the alternative of continuing to hold the leases, the profits being applied to the benefit of the personal estate. The effect of this option if exercised will be, not to delay the coming into operation of the arrangements intended by the Testator, for the portions (except of course the shares of the value of the leases) will be paid off in turn at the times laid down, but while leaving Nicholas responsible for the management of lands and mines, to divert from him to the other members of the family five-sixths of the profits.† Had the sole executorship passed to Nicholas, as was originally intended, the choice would have rested with him, and he would have been justified in adopting the first alternative, thus carrying out the clearly-expressed wishes of his father. Had he taken the oaths as co-Executor, he might at least have entered a protest. But he was altogether ignorant of his rights. According to his account, Linley concealed the Will from him altogether, pretending

* Linley makes an exception of the lease at Birkwood, because it was 'not prised nor inventoried' as part of the personal estate.

† According to Linley, Nicholas and his step-mother were expected to account 'to this Defendant and the other children' for the rents and profits which should accrue by their entrance upon the Ickles.

at one time to be acting by virtue of a Deed of Gift or Letters of Administration, at another that he alone was entitled as Executor to receive and distribute the personal estate.

We may now put in connected order the facts disclosed by the various pleadings. It must have been in February* 1653/4 that, as appears by Linley's Answer, 'the Complainant and his said Mother in Law after the death of her said husband and according to his mynde' entered upon the messuage and lands at Ickles, with 'all the greatest part of the personall estate of the said deceased, undertaking to make a true accompt to this Defendant and the other children of the rents and profits which should accrue therefrom by the said enterance'. Nicholas was evidently anxious to have the assistance of his step-mother, to whom indeed rather than to him Linley looked for the rendering of accounts and the maintenance of the children;† yet in all probability they both were under the impression that the arrangement was merely a temporary one, that Nicholas was to take over the tenancy as soon as the valuation under the Will had been completed. About the same time, as it would appear, but certainly before 1655, Mary exercised the option given her by the Will of claiming a third part of the clear personal estate to be paid by equal instalments in three years, and of reserving certain rooms and grounds for her own use. Further, for this was a separate transaction, by Articles of Agreement dated 8th November 1655, she took over goods, cattle and chattels, several sorts of corn and grain, coals, price of coals, several debts and sums of money, to the value of £446 9s. 2d., engaging under a penalty of £200 to pay certain sums of money due and to become due from the Executors.

Up to this time the whole family seem to have been living together in harmony, but almost immediately after the con-

* According to Linley's Answer, dated 24 April 1658, Nicholas and Mary held the mines for two years together, or thereabouts, next after the decease of the Testator in January 1653/4, and Linley himself for two years and a quarter. Ickles was taken over at the same time.

† 'Hopeing shée, the said Mary, would carefully have disposed thereof, to and for the use and benefitt of the said Children, and would have provided for the said Children.'

clusion of the agreement, some dispute arose over its meaning. Mrs. Hurt refused—presumably in December 1655—to pay the small proportion (£15 a year) of the rent due from her for the reserved housing and grounds, and Linley took advantage of ‘the negligence and wilfulness of the said Mary’, as he puts it, to surrender the lease to Lady Reresby. He took a new lease in his own name, as Executor, but the Hurts continued to reside at the Ickles. In April 1658, when the Answer was drawn up, a part of the personal estate was still remaining there, besides other part which the Complainant and his mother had ‘disposed of att their pleasure wthout this Defendant’s Consent, dwelling nyne or tenn miles distant from Ickles, where the said goods were, and where the said Complainant and Mary dwell’. Both Nicholas and Mary describe themselves in 1658 as ‘of Ickles’ in their Bills of Complaint, and it is clear that they remained there throughout the period, receiving interest upon that part of the stock which represented the portions left to them by the Testator, and maintaining the younger children with diet and clothes in lieu of interest upon their portions. After Linley had farmed the land with disappointing results for a year,* the Hurts recovered possession, no doubt by consent, as there is no mention of forcible entry, of proceedings or costs at law. Linley, when he took out a new lease from Lady Reresby, had evidently received back the stock on the farm which made up the greatest part of the personal estate, as is shown by his complaint that hay and corn had been forcibly taken by the complainant, and by his being able to estimate the depreciation at £70. This stock he must have handed over again at the termination of the unfortunate experiment in farming. In April 1658, when his Answer was drawn, that being the time of year when farming stock is at its lowest, it would be represented by the moneys received by Nicholas and Mary for goods disposed of, ‘the value whereof this Defendant knoweth nott’, and by goods still remaining there to the value of £60.

Mrs Hurt and her step-son also occupied the mines at

* ‘Which premises the Defendant enjoyed for about the space of one yeare, and paid that yeare’s rent.’

Birkwood for two years, from February 1653/4, 'in which tyme the said Complainant and his said Mother-in-Law kept two Coal pitts constantly going at Birkwood aforesaid and received the proffits thereof, over and above the half proffits of the Coale pitts in Kimberworth Park, both which hee (Linley) conceiveth might in the time above-said amount to eight score pounds and upwards, and over and above forty pounds and upwards which John Kaye received forth of the Pitts of the Coal mynes of Kimberworth afforesaid, pretending that he did soe receive the same for the use of the children of the said Nicholas Hurtt the father'. This clause being equally capable of several different interpretations, is a lesson what to avoid in making financial statements, but should apparently be taken to mean that the total profits were at least £200 in the two years. In January or February 1656, about the time of the dispute concerning Mrs. Hurt's rent, she and Nicholas 'left' (so Linley phrases it) the mines at Birkwood. Linley, as we know, had refused to show the complainant either the Will or the leases; we find him claiming later on that the whole profits of the Birkwood pits were due to himself as Executor until the complainant came of age, and it seems probable that he had never disclosed the fact that the Birkwood lease, not being part of the personal property of the deceased, had descended to the younger Nicholas as son and heir. Whether Nicholas and his mother abandoned the pits in ignorance of that fact, or were forcibly ejected, does not appear. The Bill of Complaint alleges that Linley contrived to make colourable forfeiture of the other mines at Kimberworth, taking a new lease in his own name as Executor: if he did the same thing at Birkwood, he behaved exceedingly badly. As soon as the complainant and Mrs. Hurt had abandoned the Birkwood pits, Linley occupied them for two years, making a profit of £130, which included coals got but not yet sold. His workmen were then 'put out for getting of coals therein', and the Hurts in their turn recovered possession, possibly as the result of a successful action at law establishing the title of Nicholas. Linley complains of the 'exceedinge charge in law' thereby sustained, and had the pits passed with the rest of the personal pro-

perty to the Executor, there could be no question of his right to work them.

As regards the mines in Kimberworth Park, the Hurts received during the first two years one-half of the profits, and £40 was also paid to John Kaye for the use of the younger children. Here Nicholas and Mrs. Hurt continued in possession, but Linley claimed, apparently with justice, that as Executor he was entitled to the half profits for the years 1657 and 1658. The reasons which induced Linley to leave Mrs. Hurt and her step-son undisturbed were probably as follows: the term was uncertain; there may have been no power to eject in the absence of a lease; a forcible entry might have terminated the tenancy; the pits were of less value, and certain legacies under the Will, including a payment to Mrs. Linley, were only to become due if the tenancy continued for three years after the death of the Testator.

In January 1657/8, when nearly twenty-three years old, Nicholas was at last sworn co-Executor to his father's Will, and in February he brought his Bill of Complaint against Linley. A little later Linley put the bond of £200 in suit against Mrs. Hurt, and she filed a Bill in Chancery against him in June 1658, asserting that she had made all the payments due from her according to the schedule attached to the Articles within the twelvemonth named, or soon after, that Linley had himself collected the money for the debts assigned to her by the said Articles, and had refused to furnish an account. She accordingly petitioned that the Bond and Articles should be cancelled, that an account should be delivered, and suit of law stayed. Linley's answer is not to be found. This litigation between Mrs. Hurt and the Executor bears the aspect of a struggle for power. He complains of her 'wilfulness', she of his 'violent, unjust, and unconscionable proceeding'. The refusal of Stafforth to act and the ousting of the younger Nicholas, who should surely have been shown the Will and have been informed that he was one of the Executors named in the codicil, left Linley too much in the position of an autocrat. He had raised doubts in the mind of the dying man as to the confidence to be reposed in his son. Yet in the sequel it was the young man

who showed good temper, moderation and fair dealing; it was the Executor appointed to look after him who proved himself overbearing, litigious and unjust.

Nicholas was 'here in the City of London' in February 1657/8. After April we hear of him no more. He had been ousted from his position as Executor, had been deprived of all or nearly all the property his father intended for him, had been forced at last to involve himself in a costly lawsuit without much chance of redress. Did he abandon his rights under the Will and fall back upon the trade to which he had been apprenticed, or was he overwhelmed by some sudden illness in the midst of his troubles? The appointment soon after this date of Linley as sole Executor, and the appearance in 1660-5 of a younger brother, Valentine Hurt, as lessee of the Ickles, seem to be very strong evidence that Nicholas was no longer alive.*

* The Nicholas who was buried at Rotherham, on the 20th July 1688, must have been an infant son of Valentine. Hunter was inclined to believe that Nicholas settled in Sheffield, but his reasons when examined prove to be unsound. 'Observing the partiality,' he writes, 'for the names Nicholas and Jonathan both in this family and in another family of Hurt their contemporaries at Sheffield, I cannot but suggest the probability that there was a close connexion between them. Of these I find Mary, wife of Nicholas Hurt, buried at Sheffield 23 March 1683/4, and the baptism of their two children: Mary, 20 December 1674, and Jonathan, 10 March 1677. This Jonathan was a filesmith admitted to the freedom in 1698, married once or twice and had many children, of whom Jonathan, baptized 19 November 1708. He was buried 29 July 1744. Nicholas was therefore born about 1650, so might well be brother to Valentine.' See Addit. MS. 24460, fo. 127. Here are several errors. Nicholas the brother of Valentine was really born in 1635. The occurrence in both families of the name Jonathan is a pure coincidence. Jonathan, the son of Valentine, was evidently named in 1691 after his mother's brother, Jonathan Saxton, and not after the other Jonathan, who was then only thirteen years old. The Hearth Tax rolls of 1660-70, though giving very full lists of the inhabitants of Sheffield, do not mention Nicholas amongst them. He may probably have settled there about 1670-4 and have been son of Nicholas, a younger son of the second Robert Hurt; therefore third or fourth cousin to Valentine.

CHAPTER XII

ROTHERHAM UNDER CROMWELL

UPON the fourteenth-century map of England which hangs in the Bodleian Library,* Rotherham is all church, just as 'Shefeld' is all castle, for even at that period the great minster-like building with its high-pitched roof and lofty lantern tower dominated the sea of quaint wooden houses which lay beneath, giving the place dignity and historic importance, lifting the mind above the trivial happenings of everyday life, guarding for future ages a vision of the power and splendour of the past. Rotherham was then the largest and most populous market-town in that part of Yorkshire, famous for its fairs at which dyed cloth, leather, swords, and iron goods were exposed for sale; noted also for the 'verie good smithes for all cutting tools' of whom Leland speaks a hundred and fifty years later, and for its hostelries, for it lay on the great road from Nottingham to Oakham and on that which was most convenient from York towards Chesterfield or Tutbury.†

This road towards Oakham, by which a traveller from London or Nottingham would first approach the town, entered Yorkshire to the right of Killamarsh church, then passed through Aughton and Whiston. Half-way between the village last named and Rotherham the highway, known here as 'Highgate' or 'London Way' and being in the form of a narrow pack-horse lane between border oak-trees,‡ crossed the fields§ at an angle into Wellgate, which was full of the

* The Sheffield antiquaries have missed this map; Rotherham can be identified by the distances marked upon it.

† Sir John Knollys writes in 1568 concerning the arrangements for the journey of Mary Queen of Scots: 'The best waye after ye passe Yorkshire, is as I am in fourmid, to Chesterfelde, and from thence to Wingfelde and so to Tutbury.'

‡ Fifty-two of the border oaks which girded the 'pack-horse road' were cut down before 1628 by Mr. Arthur Burnley, when he built his house in Moorgate.

§ In 1617, by an arrangement with Lady Shrewsbury, 'for the general good of the towne and specially of Inkeepers in the Hye strete and tradesmen in the Market-stede',

sound of rippling water, for in the centre along the whole length an open stream was running. The stream was fed by a number of springs to which descent could be made by rude stone steps, the level of the water being about three feet below that of the street. In a charter of 1427-8 Wellgate is referred to as 'the street of the rivulet'—'*vicus rivoli de Rotherham*';* at the lower end stood the Hood Cross, where four streets meet at the bottom of High Street. One could follow the brook in its course through Bridgegate and College Street (then known as Brookgate) to the open bridge over the Don. From the further end of this bridge, through a thin blue haze of smoke, the church, which stands on a lofty knoll, its very foundations being higher than the adjoining houses, could be seen in all its beauty, the lofty tower springing from the intersection of the high-pitched roofs of nave and transepts reflected in the river below, which was here of noble breadth and often filled to its utmost limits. A little to the right the water dashed in foam over a weir thrown obliquely across the river in order to provide power for the mills. Above this, the eye might follow the line of the Don to its junction with the Rother; to the left, Moorgate led up to the green sward of the town moor, and wooded hills filled up the distance.

The inhabitants were justly proud of their church and of their water-springs, which could hardly be equalled elsewhere, and from the earliest times of which any record remains, education and music—the usual complement of well-appointed religious services—were not neglected. A grammar and song school must have been in existence long before the fifteenth century, and in 1297 'Adam le Harpourt' is found as a resident in the town. In the same year 'Master John Letard' and 'Cecilia de Gotham', though living at their manor houses of Brinsford and Ickles, not far away, have each a second mansion within the town, which must have

a more direct way across Whiston fields, which had been sometimes used by foot-passengers, being the fairest way over Rotherham moor top and thence by Moorgate into the middle or heart of the town, was substituted. This new road followed Upper and Lower Moorgate and traversed the Beast Market, before it passed along the bottom of High Street at the Hood Cross. Guest, p. 359.

* T. Walter Hall, *Cat. of the Jackson Collection*, 1914, p. 25.

been regarded as a pleasant place of residence during the winter months and especially during the wild dissipation of the annual fairs.

Though at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries Rotherham contained two thousand 'houseling people', in 1381 the inhabitants did not number more than five hundred. The river was navigable only as far as Doncaster, which then ranked as a seaport having the right of wreck at sea, but the position of Rotherham, within easy distance of that town by pack-horse traffic upon an excellent road, offered facilities for commerce. Its trade seems to have been more in cloth than iron, for while we find only five smiths in the return for the poll-tax, there are seven tailors, four websters, one coverlet weaver, three walkers, two sheermen, and a lister. The richest inhabitants are 'John Mersburgh marchant and Elisola his wife', who are assessed at ten shillings and have two manservants and three maids in their household; 'John de Bolum marchant and Ibota his wife' pay half as much. A merchant is a wholesale dealer in goods not manufactured by himself, but more particularly one who conveys goods by sea, and we shall probably be right in assuming that these two had ships upon the river for the carriage of cloth from Doncaster to London. 'Thomas Bakester, osteler', assessed at 40*d.*, keeps the principal inn, the sums rendered by the other two landlords being only twelvepence each.

There were two annual fairs held in the Market-stead and the Beast-market; the first on the eve, the day and morrow of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist; the second, which in early times was much more important, on the Feast of St. Edmund, the two previous and five subsequent days. In 1382, as we have seen, Henry de Birley, the franklin of Ecclesfield, and six other free tenants from the same parish rode over on Monday the 24th November to the winter fair; this was attended also by all the greater landowners of the district, who came in at the head of columns of servants or tenants and were sometimes preceded by a piper. Sir John Reresby tells us that his ancestor, Richard de Gotham, upon the sale in 1280 of the site of the inn called the Swan in the Beast-market, retained the annual rent of a penny to be paid

to himself or his heirs upon fair-day, and that by custom the best room and best stable were always reserved on that occasion for the head of the family. He mentions that on the 16th May 1687, being Whitsun Monday, he went to the sign of the Swan to receive his rent, and that in an account-book of his grandfather, Sir George Reresby, who married in 1609 or 1610 and died in 1628, was the entry: '*Item*, lent my wife at Lenten fair, 4s. 9d.' It was on the return from Rotherham fair in 1556 that the two sons of Sir William West were murdered by John and George, sons of Lord Darcy, who had long sought to procure their death:

As at the fair of Rotherham
 Appeared very well,
 Which on the next Monday then came;
 In Whitsun week it fell.

Thither rode Lewis West full straight,
 And Edmund West his brother,
 Twelve tall yeomen on him did wait,
 His servants and none other.

Both John and George Darsè also
 Came thither with their band;
 And all that day about did go,
 With him to fall in hand.

The Darcys, who had with them threescore armed men and a piper, fell in at last with their enemies at Aughton, four miles from Rotherham, and after a gallant defence the two young Wests were slain.

In the seventeenth century Rotherham was still a 'great towne', but much of its ancient trade had been lost, perhaps owing to the evil state of the river highway between Doncaster and Hull. The Customary of 1638 informs us that it was then greatly inhabited with 'Artificers and pore men of occupations and trades'. During the Civil War and under the Commonwealth the poverty of the place increased. A Justices' order of 1658 speaks of it as an eminent and ancient market-town which in former times was populous, wealthy, and able to yield help to neighbouring towns in times of need. But 'now of late years the inhabitants are falne into

greate decay, much weakened in their Estates and growne numerous in their poore, who are not only become to greate a burthen to the said Town encreasing daily upon them, but alsoe to their neighbouring townes, many of them going abroad begging their bread, others loytring at home not havinge employment or not willing to employ themselves in any callinge'. The order goes on to authorize the town feoffees to set the idle poor to work at making fustians and other commodities called Manchester ware.

In outward appearance the town of which we are speaking was still in 1658 the 'fair Rotherham' of the Dragon of Wantley ballad. The famous Archbishop who took his name from it had beautified and enlarged the church, had begun in 1481 the building of a college 'in small fine brickwork, almost like enamel', but with these two exceptions the universal building materials were oak and plaster. Wellgate was still refreshed with its rivulet, fed by many springs which issued up almost in the middle of the street, 'a very pleasant and handsome sight to see, the clear sand dancing in all directions in water as clear as crystal'. Trains of patient pack-horses still moved on the paved tracks to the merry music of little jingling bells hung on bridle-rein and harness. In the Market-stead, close to the church, were clustered together the shops, many enlivened with tradesmen's signs, such as the Mercers' and Merchant Tailors' arms. At the north side of the bridgefoot in Bridgegate stood a gatehouse, now converted into a dwelling; in front of this was a square block of stone steps used for loading pack-horses, and beside it an open 'jennel', or covered way, led to the deep pool. For public buildings there were only the ancient timber-framed Town Hall in the market-place, and the market-house, constructed of the same materials. The College was in private hands, the school-house having been moved before 1583 to a site in Jesusgate adjoining the Town Hall. In the open space, where Wellgate and College Street meet at the bottom of High Street, public meetings were sometimes held round the steps of the Hood Cross, and here some of the best private houses were to be found. The most important was that of the Mounteneys, where King Charles was lodged on the 9th

February 1646/7 when on his way to Mansfield and Nottingham: this stood on the site occupied in our time by the High Street Bank. There was a fine house in Westgate, which in Henry the Eighth's time had been held, as is supposed, by Lord Shrewsbury's land-agent. The house in Moorgate, where William West had written most of his great work, *Symbolægraphy*—the first part is dated from Rotherham—was, in 1627, the property of his son, Francis West, gentleman, but the family soon removed elsewhere.

The services at the parish church, where almost every Sunday some 'strange' minister preached by invitation, brought the inhabitants together once a week, but except for meetings at the inns or taverns, the bowling-green or the cockpit, there were few other opportunities of social intercourse. Races were sometimes held on the Town-moor, but there was no Assembly-room, and the Coffee-house, first mentioned in 1685, was not yet in existence. The fair, now concerned principally with cattle, was held in the Beast-market. There must have been a good deal of private entertaining at Christmas and the New Year, and at this season the Waits made their round through the streets, while outside the taverns the poorer classes were cheered by the music of the bagpipe.

Most of the inns were in the High Street. They were built, of course, on the usual plan of a long, open yard surrounded on the upper floor by wooden galleries into which the bed-chambers opened. The accommodation was rough and food was still eaten with the fingers from wooden vessels, as is shown by the depositions made in December 1656 concerning a certain Peter de Beauvoir, regarded as a dangerous character because 'in the inne to which he came at Doncaster at supper he laid his pistolls ready cockt beside his trencher'. These inns had an evil reputation as gambling dens, hosts and hostesses being accomplished gamesters; indeed play was so much more profitable than business, that guests who refused to take a hand were sometimes told to find themselves quarters elsewhere.

The 'Inne called the Crowne' in High Street, held in 1627 by Francis Dickenson, was the largest in the place, and is

supposed to have furnished lodging in 1568 for Mary Queen of Scots and her train, when she was to 'lye in the Towne' on her journey to Chesterfield and Tutbury. The White Horse was in the same street. Here also was the Elephant and Castle, which stood opposite the house of the Mounteneys on the site now or lately occupied by the Sheffield and Rotherham Bank. At this inn some of the royal suite were lodged on the 9th February 1646/7, when King Charles slept at Rotherham on his way to Holdenby House. Inns were also to be found in other parts of the town. On the west side of the churchyard in Church Street, then known as Ratten Row though one of the principal thoroughfares, William Clayton kept an inn, which in 1643 was held by his widow. Next after the Crowne, this was probably the best in the place, and here in February 1642/3 all persons in the Rotherham neighbourhood able to furnish money, plate or horses for the service of the Parliament were summoned to appear in person, not failing at their peril. In the Market-stead or in Briggate was the Bull, of which in 1615 and 1638 Thomas Oke was landlord; at this house Henry Braithwaite, the author of *Drunken Barnaby's Journal*, lodged, in the year last named, and having taken part in a few games of cards, departed by night, leaving all his gold behind him. The Talbot, which is mentioned in 1545-6 and again in 1611, was in Wellgate, the Swan, of which the dying song has not yet been heard, in the Beast-market, the Redd Lyon in Bridgegate, the Blue Bell at the church gates on the site of the new Market-hall. There were also, of course, a number of taverns, those of a better class having a room for the gentry on the ground floor and the bar fitted up with boxes of wood for carousing parties, after a fashion of which some examples still survive in out-of-the-way parts of the country.

The government of the town was vested in the manor-court, but from the time of Queen Elizabeth the management of public business in relation to the Poor, the Constable, the Highways and the Church, had been undertaken by the Feoffees of the Common Lands. By these also were hired the Town Waits, who wore coats of red cloth laced with gold (the Talbot colours) and hats of corresponding grandeur;

perhaps also, as in Elizabeth's reign, a bagpiper. Sessions were held in July, and on these occasions processions of manacled prisoners, the innocent and guilty chained together in one long, dreadful gang, were marched from Wakefield to the gaol, from the gaol to the Town Hall. Of those who were convicted, some were imprisoned, others burnt in the hand, or for political offences placed in the pillory. Culprits sentenced to transportation might be drafted into the army abroad, like the highwayman Nevinson, who was sent to Tangiers, and sometimes a gang of convicts was sold to the highest bidder, who shipped them as slaves to the Plantations. At Rotherham and throughout the West Riding, the belief in witchcraft, the terror of being 'overlooked', was universal, as is shown by a local case of 1662-3 when a labourer beat a poor old woman to death, saying that she had bewitched his mother. Juries usually refused to convict or judges to sentence a witch, but even some of the Justices, like Sir John Reresby, were not very sure that there was nothing in it.

The most distinguished asset of Rotherham was its grammar school, of which the earlier history has already been dealt with in Chapter VIII. At this 'severe and exact' school Bishop Sanderson had been brought up, and it was by his interest that at the beginning of the Civil Wars Charles Hoole was appointed master. The latter published many books, as appears by the list in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*; among which were a Grammar issued in 1654 and *A New Discovery of the Old Art of teaching School*, first used at Rotherham in 1637, but not published until after the Restoration.

The New Discovery is a very remarkable book, which laid down a new method of teaching the dead languages, a method far in advance of any that is followed to-day. When Hoole came to Rotherham in 1635, he found that the boys were taught to construe Latin and Greek well, but were 'barren of proper words and good phrases for speaking or writing'. He therefore introduced books 'purposely made for that end', beginning in the lowest classes with Vocabularies, *Sententiæ Pueriles*, and Colloquies, as well as the *Janua Linguarum* and grammars. It was part of his system to induce the pupils to help in teaching each other. 'After lessons are ended, you

may let everyone propound what questions he pleaseth for his opposite to answer.' The boys in the higher classes were given a subject every Saturday for a theme or verses, which they handed in a week later. Some of the upper boys in the eighth and ninth forms gave lectures to the lower forms. Every Friday in the afternoon, those in the top form collected phrases out of their several authors for the use of the lowest forms, which these latter copied out and committed to memory against Saturday morning. On Fridays and Saturdays there were disputations at noon, each boy having his day, when all his fellows posed him, if they could, with questions out of any author he had read before.

School began at seven in the morning, winter and summer alike, the boys being dismissed at eleven; in the afternoons, work on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday was over at five; Tuesday at four o'clock, Thursday at three.

At the opening of the Civil War the schoolboys seem to have been mostly on the side of the Parliament. The first act of war in this neighbourhood—an attack upon the house of Sir Edward Rodes—led to a great muster of the Parliamentarians upon Rotherham Moor in September 1642; these soon commenced to throw up earthworks round Rotherham, which was settled as a garrison by Lord Fairfax. Early the next year Newcastle advanced to attack the town. It appears by Sir John Gell's Memoirs that the Parliamentary forces originally intended to oppose the Earl's further progress at Rotherham and to give battle there, but the Earl was too quick for them, and on the 4th May 1643 made a successful assault. On that day about thirty of the schoolboys undertook the management of a drake, which was planted at the entrance of the bridge, and did considerable execution. Calamy mentions that Thomas Rose was one of the number. After the evacuation by Newcastle in 1644, so strong was the Roundhead feeling among the schoolboys, that poor loyal Charles Hoole had to retire to London. The school, in spite of the political bias shown on these occasions, remained in favour with the neighbouring gentry, whose sons, especially after the Restoration, were mostly sent there to be educated. Sir John Reresby mentions in his

Memoirs that in 1681 two of his boys were at Rotherham Grammar School. In the following year John, son of George Westby, left it for St. John's, Cambridge, to which many of the scholars may have proceeded, for we know that at the beginning of the eighteenth century it was customary to hold an annual meeting at Rotherham of clergymen and gentlemen who had completed their education at St. John's.

During the Civil Wars the people of Rotherham had been generally on the side of the Parliament. As Hunter observes, 'the Puritan families of Westby, Gill, Hatfield, Staniforth, Spencer and Bright, united at once in blood and in a community of political and religious feeling, possessed an influence at and around Rotherham which nothing but military power could countervail'. There was, however, a persistent undercurrent of Royalist feeling, very bitter on the Wentworth estates and amongst all those who had served Lord Strafford or who held his memory in reverence. Satires directed against the Roundheads seem to have found a ready sale in the town. In 1647 Henry Revell of Rotherham, clerk, William Crofts of Doncaster, and Robert Brown of Rotherham, yeomen, were charged with publishing a blasphemous and seditious libel, called *The Parliament's Ten Commandments*; consisting of a most profane and wicked parody of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Revell was fined £50; the other two, £100 each.

In June of the following year Pontefract Castle, then regarded as the Key of the North, was surprised by Colonel William Morris and a small party of royalists. Morris, or Marris (as he is usually named in the depositions), in his youth had been page to Lord Strafford, had also served under him in Ireland, and it seems very possible that he was a nephew of Lord Strafford's former land-agent, Richard Marris or Morris, who died, as we have seen, in 1635, leaving a 'great estate' in land and goods to his brother. Cromwell undertook the siege in person, but after a month abandoned it to General Lambert. The Royalist flag was still flying there when the King was beheaded, and the garrison, after solemnly proclaiming Charles the Second, struck silver coins

with the title of the new reigning monarch upon them. In March 1649 they were at last compelled to treat for terms, but upon Cromwell's order Marris and five others were excepted from quarter in the conditions. Their friends refused to give them up, and these six, in a last desperate endeavour to escape, rode at the guard. One was killed on the spot, two cut their way through, and three were beaten back into the castle. Strange as the tale may sound, these three did not fall into Cromwell's hand. The garrison walled them up in the castle with provisions for a month; they eventually escaped, and lived to celebrate the Restoration.

In spite of the educational advantages which Rotherham offered, few people of good position had taken up their residence in the town. In 1627 we find Richard Mounteney, Esquire, in High Street, Francis West, gentleman, and Mr. Charles Tooker in Mooregate, Mr. Rollinson in Briggate, Mrs. Darley in Jesus-gate, William Malim, gentleman, in Doncaster-gate. In 1634 Richard Boroughs, gentleman, a near kinsman of the Mounteneys, was one of the parishioners of the best note. In the hearth-tax roll of 1665, Mr. Saxton pays on ten hearths, Richard Mounteney, Esquire, on twelve, Lionel Copley, Esquire, on nineteen. Another roll of about the same time brings in Mr. Mandeville for ten, and Widow Wilkinson for the same number, but none other for more than nine hearths. Mr. Mandeville's house, as is shown by the church assessments, was in the High Street; Mr. Saxton's was in Milngate at the corner of Church Lane. The *List of Nobility and Gentry now or late resident in the West Riding of Yorkshire*, published by Blome in 1673, being then a little out of date, includes Francis Mounteney and Charles Tooker of Rotherham, gentlemen. Luke Clayton, a Rotherham man and related, no doubt, to the innkeeper of that name, was minister for the parish church in 1649.

In January 1653/4 when Mr. Hurt died, his married daughter, Elizabeth Stafford, was twenty-four; Nicholas was eighteen, Valentine nearly fifteen, Christian just thirteen, Richard not more than ten. Mrs. Hurt, who was evidently younger than her husband, did not marry again, though the possibility that she might do so had been foreseen; she continued

to occupy 'My ladie's chamber' at the Ickles as her bedroom, the Little Parlour as her private sitting-room, and remained on the friendliest terms with her step-children, the whole family living together in accordance with the terms of the Will. They dined in the hall, using as a drawing-room the great panelled chamber with its coved ceiling and mullioned window overlooking the flower-beds. In the hot summer afternoons when the boys' schooling was over, they sat round the ancient well in the South Garden among the roses and gilly-flowers, just as the Reresbys and Gothams had done before them; played at bowls on the green, strolled in the shade of the huge chestnut trees on the ramparts of Templeborough, or fished at the confluence of the Rother and the Don.* On Sundays they occupied the Ickles' pew at Rotherham church, rich with carving of the Reresby arms and quarterings, and the inns being still used by all classes as restaurants are on the Continent to-day, they must have often walked to the town to dine at the Crown in High Street, the Swan by the Old Market, or Clayton's inn on the west side of the church-yard. Here gazettes and newsletters could be read; and perhaps coffee, the new foreign drink, might already be procured.

In the town itself, several relatives were living. In Doncaster-gate was the house of Mrs. Hurt's brother-in-law, John Malin, the 'beloved friend, John Malyn, gentleman,' mentioned in 1662 in the Will of Thomas Edmunds of Worsborough, Esquire, formerly secretary to Lord Strafford. In the same street, apparently, lived her father, Mr. Hall, whom Richard and perhaps the other children as well must often have been brought to visit. Lionel Copley, Esquire, the ironmaster, a great friend of Mr. Hall, occupied the largest house in the town—assessed in 1665 at nineteen hearths—but the position of it does not appear. Another resident, John Saxton, whose daughter and heir afterwards married Valentine Hurt, lived in Milngate at the corner of Church Lane. These, with the single exception of the Mounteneys, were the principal inhabitants. At Dikeside in the same parish lived

* Dodsworth mentions that the Don 'keepeth its course to Eccles where it entertaineth the Rother'.

Dorothy Stafford, whom Nicholas, Valentine, and Christian Hurt must have called grandmother, as she had adopted and brought up their mother, Margaret Stafford; upon her death in 1657 they all received legacies under her Will.

Mrs. Hurt's brother, Francis Hall, the clergyman, must sometimes have stayed at the Ickles; perhaps also her first husband's brother, Whittaker Malin, who had succeeded in 1653 to most of the estate of his aunt, Mrs. Wentworth of Cawthorne. Often the children's half-sister, Mrs. Linley, rode over to see them from the old home at Wentworth, nine or ten miles away; their other married sister, Elizabeth Stafford, was living at Greasborough in the same parish of Rotherham, and it appears by the proceedings in Chancery that her husband and her brother-in-law, John Stafford, continued to look after the children's interests, being entrusted with plate, linens, and other goods belonging to them. With their relative, William Skyres of Hay Green—the same William whose portrait may still be seen in the possession of his descendants, the Bowers of Broxholme—the family remained upon terms of close intimacy, as is shown by later bequests, and some of the children will have attended his wedding at Wentworth in May 1656. John Kay of Masborough, the ironmaster, acting as supervisor of their father's Will, received moneys for the necessary expenses of the children, and Valentine, with his brother and sister, may probably have been present at the wedding of Susanna Kay to William Fell of Rotherham, the ancestor of the Swallows of Eckington.*

Besides the horse left to Mrs. Hurt by her husband, it appears by the Chancery proceedings that at least one other saddle-horse was kept at the Ickles; so Mrs. Hurt was able to take her son or step-daughter with her on riding excursions, or when she went to stay with her relatives at Worsborough and Wentworth. Journeys to London were not unknown, for, as we have seen, Nicholas was in town for January and February 1657/8, and Mrs. Hurt may probably have been there in June 1658, when she filed her bill against Linley. But such visits must have been rare. The family were, no doubt, living quietly at the Ickles in September

* *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 901.

1658, when the welcome news came down that Oliver was dead at last; in January 1660, when Monk passed southward from York on his march to London; in May, when Charles returned again to his own; and throughout the stormy days of the Dutch War, the Great Plague, the Fire of London, and the Protestant Alliance.

Mrs. Hurt's father, William Hall of Rotherham, died in 1657. It appears by his Will, dated 3 June 1654 and proved at Canterbury, 9 May 1657, that he had entered into a bond of £2,000 before the marriage of his son, Francis Hall, clerk, with 'Martha or Mathee', his wife, in fulfilment of which he leaves certain lands at Doncaster-gate-head in Rotherham, and a house in Westgate, in the occupation of Henry Gascoigne, senior. Two other houses in Westgate are also mentioned, occupied by John Blackbourne and James Fell. The clauses relating to Mrs. Hurt are as follows:

'Item: whereas I have formerly given unto my loving daughter, Mary Hurtt, widow, a sufficient portion, I give and bequeath unto the said Mary Hurtt one silver bowle for and in full satisfaction of her filiall child's part and portion out of all my goods and chattells. Item, I give and devise unto my loving daughter, Sarah Hall, one messuage or house with th'appurtenances scituate at the West end of a certaine street called Milngate in Rotherham aforesaid, now in the occupacion of Thomas Wheatley or his Assignes, and five acres of land arable, more or lesse, dispersed in the Common Towne-fields of Rotherham aforesaid, belonging to the said house. To have and to hold the said house, lands and premisses, with the appurtenances there unto belonging, unto my said daughter, Sarah Hall, after my decease, and to the heirs of her bodie lawfully begotten or to be begotten. And for want of such heirs, then to my grandchild, Richard Hurtt, and his heires lawfully begotten and to be begotten. And I give unto my daughter Sarah Hall one silver bowle whereupon her name is engraved. Item, I give unto every one of my servants that shall serve me at my decease, five shillings apiece.'*

* In a church assessment of 1627, William Hall appears under Millne Gate as paying 8s. This may have been the house in that street which remained in the possession of Nicholas Hurt's descendants until it was sold by Francis Hurt Sitwell or his son, Sir Sitwell Sitwell, at some date later than 1773. But more probably the house in Mill Gate came to the Hurts from the Saxtons.

Mr. Hall made his loving friend, Lionel Copley of Rotherham, Esquire, supervisor of his Will, desiring him to direct and be helpful in assisting his wife and daughter in executing it.

Valentine Hurt, the second son of Nicholas, was only fourteen years old in 1653, when his father died, and was probably being educated at the Rotherham Grammar School, a mile and a half from the Ickles. In his daily walk to the school-house in Jesus Gate, now known as College Street, he must soon have been joined by Richard, his youngest brother. As directed in the Will of 1653, Valentine was to have been bound apprentice to a trade when 'fitt to put abroad,'—then the usual method of dealing with younger sons in families of much higher social position. This was not done,* probably owing to the death of his elder brother Nicholas, who, as already stated, is not heard of again after April 1658. It was the intention of the Will, as expressed in the codicil, that Nicholas should continue to hold the lease at Ickles with the coal mines at Kimberworth and Birkwood, and Valentine seems to have stepped into his shoes. The latter, when he came of age in February 1659/60, entered into possession of the Ickles, as is made evident by the hearth-tax rolls of Charles the Second's time, preserved at the Record Office. Ickles is in the township of Brinsford or Brinsworth, and upon the death of Lady Reresby in 1665 the ownership had passed to Sir John. In the roll of 1674, we have:

Brinsworth.	Mr. Laughton†	11 hearths
	Sir John Rearsby	9 hearths

The two earlier rolls of 1660-70 give the assessments as follows:—

Brinsworth.	Mr. Loughton	11 hearths
	Valantine Hart	9 „
Brinsworth.	Mr. Laughton	11 hearths
	Vallentine Hart	9 „

* At this time, about £20 was required for apprenticing a boy to trade. The twenty marks paid out on behalf of the younger children 'for the supply of their present necessities and their preferment' probably included school-fees for Valentine and Richard. Whether Christian was sent to school, as directed in the Will, does not appear.

† Charles Laughton, of Howarth Grange.

At this time Renishaw was assessed at twelve hearths, and some small manor houses at no more than four.

Valentine Hurt continued to occupy the Ickles until 1670, when he removed to Hesley Hall, and must therefore have been present at Thrybergh in December 1665 and December 1668, when Sir John Reresby entertained his tenants and neighbours with music and dancing, the bringing in of the boar's head, and all the rites of old English hospitality. Sir John tells us that in 1665 he 'kept his first Christmas', and that three years later he 'kept open Christmas' at Thrybergh. What is meant by these phrases is shown by his note that, in 1676, three hundred people at the least dined with him on New Year's Day, and by the long account of similar festivities in 1682. On the occasion last-named, he had for music two violins and a bass from Doncaster that wore his livery and played well for the country, two bagpipes for the common people, a trumpeter and a drummer. Four dinners were given to his tenants, two to the neighbouring gentlemen, one to the clergy and one to seven gentlemen and tradesmen of Rotherham and other places. The expense of liquor, both wine and ale, was considerable, and all his friends appeared well satisfied. In 1684, the music was still louder and the guests were more numerous:—

'I had more company this Christmas than heretofore. The four first days of the New Year all my tenants of Thrybergh, Brinsford, Denaby, Mexborough, Hooton Roberts and Rotherham dined with me : the rest of the time some four score of gentlemen and yeomen, with their wives, were invited, besides some that came from York ; so that all the beds in the house and most in the town, were taken up. There were seldom less than four-score, counting all sorts of people that dined in the house every day, and some days many more. On New Year's Day chiefly there dined above three hundred, so that whole sheep were roasted and served so up to feed them. For music I had five violins, besides bagpipes, drums and trumpets.'

CHAPTER XIII

HESLEY HALL IN ECCLESFIELD

IN 1670, Mr. Valentine Hurt left the Ickles, his lease having run out, and removed to Hesley or Heslow Hall on the other side of Rotherham, a small moated manor-house which until 1879 or 1880 contained a chapel with a stone pulpit in it and much oak-carving black with age. Its ancient importance is reflected in the large map of South Yorkshire published in 1817, which shows 'Hesley Park' as quite two-thirds the side of the neighbouring demesne of Wentworth, and an echo of old romance still lingers about the place in the names of the 'Justing Lands' and of the 'Lady Pond'; the latter a bathing pool furnished with steps leading down into the water and flanked on two sides by sheltering trees. There were red deer in the park here 'in 1664 and probably later' (3), and the entrance lodge, known as Hesley Lodge, was then half a mile away on the road to Rotherham, the present road which runs close to the house having been originally nothing more than a foot-path.

At Thorpe Hesley the three parishes of Wath, Ecclesfield and Rotherham meet, as do also the three lay fees of Wentworth, Cowley and Kimberworth. The hall, which in the twelfth century had been the seat of the powerful family of De Reneville* and afterwards of the Mounteneys, is within the byerlaw of Grenofirth in the parish of Ecclesfield and lay fee of Cowley. In 1572 John Thwaites, the heir of the Mounteneys, sold Cowley, Hesley and Shirecliffe to the Earl of Shrewsbury, but the sale did not take full effect until 1638. The Earls, according to Eastwood, used Hesley as the residence of their forester, or 'keeper of the red deer' mentioned

* For the early descent of the De Renevilles, see the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, vol. v, p. 324.

by Dodsworth. In a rental of Lord Shrewsbury's estate in 1588, we have:

'Cowley. Nicholas Harteley for Hesseley Hawle & the Demaynes
di. anno, ix li. xv s.'

A similar entry appears in a rental of 1592. In Harrison's Survey, taken in 1637, we have the following statement:

'Humphrey Northall holdeth at Will Heslow farme by the yearely rent of xxx *li.*

John Wainewright hath alsoe a part of the said ffarme.

Particulars.

Imprimis, a Tenement called Heslow Hall (moated round) with a dwelling house of five bayes, one barne of four bayes, a Stable of one bay, a Hey house of two bayes, & a fould lying next Heslow lane south and east, & cont. . . . 2 A. 0 R. 5 P.'

Northall, it appears, held a spring wood called Hesley Parke, containing 163 A. 3 R., and Wainewright, mentioned above, another wood of 87 A. 2 R., the total held by them both being given as 407 A. 2 R. 33 P. A note which appears to have been written a few years later says that—

Hesley Hall Farm is as followeth:

	Acres
Arable and Pasture	179
Wood Ground	334½
	<hr/> 513½

Amongst the outpayments of 1637 is an entry: 'Humphrey Northall, the keeper of Cowley Woods, his wages £3.' In 1664 there is a payment to 'Henry Priest for looking to Cowley Woods and y^e outtlying Red Deer in Humphrey Northall's place, £4, and a rental of the same year gives 'Humphrey Northall, Heslow ffarme, £35.' Humphrey Northall* of Hesley within the parish of Ecclesfield, gentleman, makes his Will on the 19th December 1661, and this was proved at York, 27 October 1670. To Anne his wife he left all his interest and title he had (by way of lease, no doubt) in

* There are bequests to the ten children of Humphrey Northall in the Will (1651) of William Plessington Esq. of Sheffield, who is said to have begun life as a servant at Hesley (4).

the messuage wherein he then lived, and all the closes, lands and tenements thereto belonging, and now in his occupation or in the hands of any other persons to whom he had let the same. There is, alas, no inventory of the furniture.

In October 1670, immediately after Northall's death, Mr. Hurt bought the remainder of the lease from the widow, paying £180 as a fine to the Duke of Norfolk for a new lease of twenty-one years. In the Sheffield rental of that year is the following entry:

'21 October 1670. Valentine Hurt. 67. All that Messuage or Tenem't in the parish of Ecclesfield, with all those closes or parcells of land arrable Meadow, or pasture called Heslow lane pasture, the Great Lee pasture, the Park Royd pasture, the Wood End pasture, the Hud field in pastures, the Pitty fields, the Justing Lands, the Wainewright close, the Near Ox close, the Brackin Flatt pasture, the Highfield, the Birchfields wood pasture, the Yew tree fields, the Farr Oxclose, the Clough, the Nether Cow close, the Newfields Spring, the Newfields close adjoyneing, the Old Cowley close, etc.

A.	R.	P.	ffine	Rent	Comm.	Expr. (Term)
192	0	28	180 <i>li.</i>	35	Sep'r 29	21 (years)

It should be observed that the rent of £35 is for the time a considerable payment. In 1698 when Mr. Simpson, Lord Bradford's ancestor, took Renishaw from the Sitwells, he paid only £7 10s. for the house and £15 9s. for the land about it—a total of £22 19s. The acreage of all these closes above named is given in Harrison's Survey of 1637, and they are shown in a map of Hesley Farm, made in 1764, in the great book of maps in the Duke's estate office at Sheffield. It thus appears that Mr. Hurt had all the lands formerly held by Northall and Wainwright, except Hesley Parke, The Inge, and Springwood. These also may probably have been included in the lease, as it appears that he held 'the woods under reasonable covenants' at a rent or royalty specified, and therefore probably depending upon the amount of timber cut. In 'A Rentall of the Rectory & Manor of Sheffield, Ecclesfield, etc. for one whole yeare, beginning at Michaelmas 1672', Valentine Hurt appears as paying the rent of £35.

In 1686, five years before the expiry of the twenty-one

years' term, Mr. Hurt took a new lease for a similar period. In a book of the Duke's leases, completed in about 1687-97, an abstract of the document is given.

'207. Valentine Hurt of Rotherham, gentleman, all that Messuage etc. in Ecclesfield parish, together with all those Closes called Heslow Lane pasture, etc. etc. (see above) containing by estimation, 192 A. O R. 28 P., with the tenement late John Wainwright's late occupation of Humphrey Northall, now in Hurt's occupation, with the wood under reasonable covenants, 35 *li.* Rent, ffyve 100 *li.* and the rent of the woods.'

In another book of about the same date, there is a similar entry, giving the number of the lease as '206' and showing that the term was twenty-one years commencing at Michaelmas 1686.

The Mounteneys had chapels in their manor-houses at Cowley, Shirecliffe and Hesley, and continued to reside on the three estates until the main line ended in an heiress—Barbara, wife of Thomas Thwaites, Esquire, of Marston near York. Dodsworth was informed that at Cowley they had 'great woods, and abundance of redd deare, and a stately castle-like house moated round, pulled down not long since by the Earl of Salop after he had purchased the land'. Hesley also was moated, and the original house may probably have had something of the same character, being built for defence. Eastwood, writing in 1850-60, says that Hesley Hall 'is of considerable age, but not so old as the time of the Mounteneys'. The property was sold to Lord Shrewsbury in 1572, and as we know that the last earl who was lord of Hallamshire, pulled down and rebuilt Cowley before 1613, in spite of the statement that complete possession was not obtained until 1638, we may assume that he rebuilt Hesley on a smaller scale about the same year.

In the great book of maps at the Duke of Norfolk's estate office in Sheffield is one of Hesley taken in 1699, seven years after the death of Mr. Hurt. It is signed 'Im. Halton *descrip-sit*, 1698-9', and bears the following title: '*Hesley Parke & Cowley-wood lying together within the parish of Ecclesfield Com. Ebor, belonging to the most Noble Henry Duke of Norfolk, Earle Marshall of England. Surveighed the 22nd of March. Anno Dom. 1698-9. And conteines of Statute Measure,*

276 *Ac.* 2 *r.* 38 *p.* 'Hesley Howse' comes in very small at the lower left corner, but the moat is not given, nor any detail. The house was obviously the same in plan as that shown in later maps up to the year 1797 or later, and was double the size of the present one, one wing having been entirely pulled down since the year last named.

Of the old hall, which the writer visited in October 1897, little now remains. The front towards the road appears to be of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, but the rest of the house was rebuilt about the year 1880. A portion of the old moat is left, shallow and said to be flagged with stone; across the present highway lay another length of it, which was filled up in order to widen the road. The cellars, entered from near the right-hand corner of the garden as you look towards the moat, were very extensive, and one of them it is said was a 'keep' or prison, from which an underground passage led to the 'old monastery' on the Effingham estate, half a mile away on the road to Rotherham. In 1897 there had been a subsidence in the left-hand corner of the garden, indicating that the vaults extended in that direction also. On this side, the garden is flanked by a fine brick wall, perhaps late seventeenth-century work, with a pretty little alcove at the further end under an arched recess. Near the side entrance to the house is an old well, and in a secluded spot called Bathfield, close to the wood, there was formerly a bath with stone steps, now filled in with earth.

Some of the villagers could remember having played as children in the chapel, situated near the old barns at the back of the house with a dairy under it: a dark-looking place with benches and a stone pulpit. This was destroyed when the alterations were made about 1880; and at the same time the 'old black oak' in the house, with its 'rare carving' was removed, whither, no one knows.

On the 10th February 1680/1, Valentine Hurt married at Wadworth, Mary, daughter and heir of John Saxton.* A gold ring mentioned in her Will, with the 'posie' '*A true freinds gift*' engraved within it, was probably given at their

* '*Nuptiæ inter Valentine Hurt et Mariam Saxon de Rotherham, solemnizatae fuerunt.*' Parish register.

engagement.* Administration to the goods of John Saxton, late of Rotherham, gentleman, was granted at York on the 25th September 1682, to Mary, wife of Valentine Hurt, daughter of the deceased. Mr. Saxton was the eldest son of the Rev. Peter Saxton, Vicar of Leeds, and was nearly connected with the Saxtons of Conisbrough, whose descent is given in Hunter's *South Yorkshire*. The Vicar, according to Thoresby, is supposed to have been the author of a book entitled *Christmas Cheere*, published in 1606. The famous mapmaker, Christopher Saxton, 'born of an old Yorkshire family at Tinglow near Leeds', was of the same stock, may indeed have been the Vicar's brother:† as 'Christopher Saxton of Dunningley co. York, gentleman,' he had in 1579 from Norroy a confirmation or grant of arms, namely '*Argent, three Chaplets Gules between two Gemells in Bend Sable*', these being with some difference of tincture the bearing of the older Yorkshire house of that name.

In the Hearth-tax Rolls of Charles the Second's time, Mary's father, John Saxton, pays at Rotherham upon ten hearths (5). Thus in the roll of 1665 we have, 'Mr. Saxton, 10,

* Since the middle of the sixteenth century, it had been customary to engrave a motto or posy within the hoop of the betrothal and wedding ring. When the parson in Ben Jonson's comedy, *The Magnetic Lady*, is called upon to celebrate a hasty marriage he inquires, 'Have you a wedding ring?' and receives the reply—'Ay, and a posie'. Herrick, in his *Hesperides* has the lines

What posies for our wedding rings,
What gloves we'll give, and ribbonings,

and George Herbert speaks of

A ring whose posy was 'My pleasure'.

The inscription, 'A true freind's gift', suggests that the ring mentioned in the Will was given at betrothal, rather than marriage. See also Ashton's *Social Life*, i. 35.

† In the Leeds parish register we have the following amongst a number of other entries relating to the Saxtons:

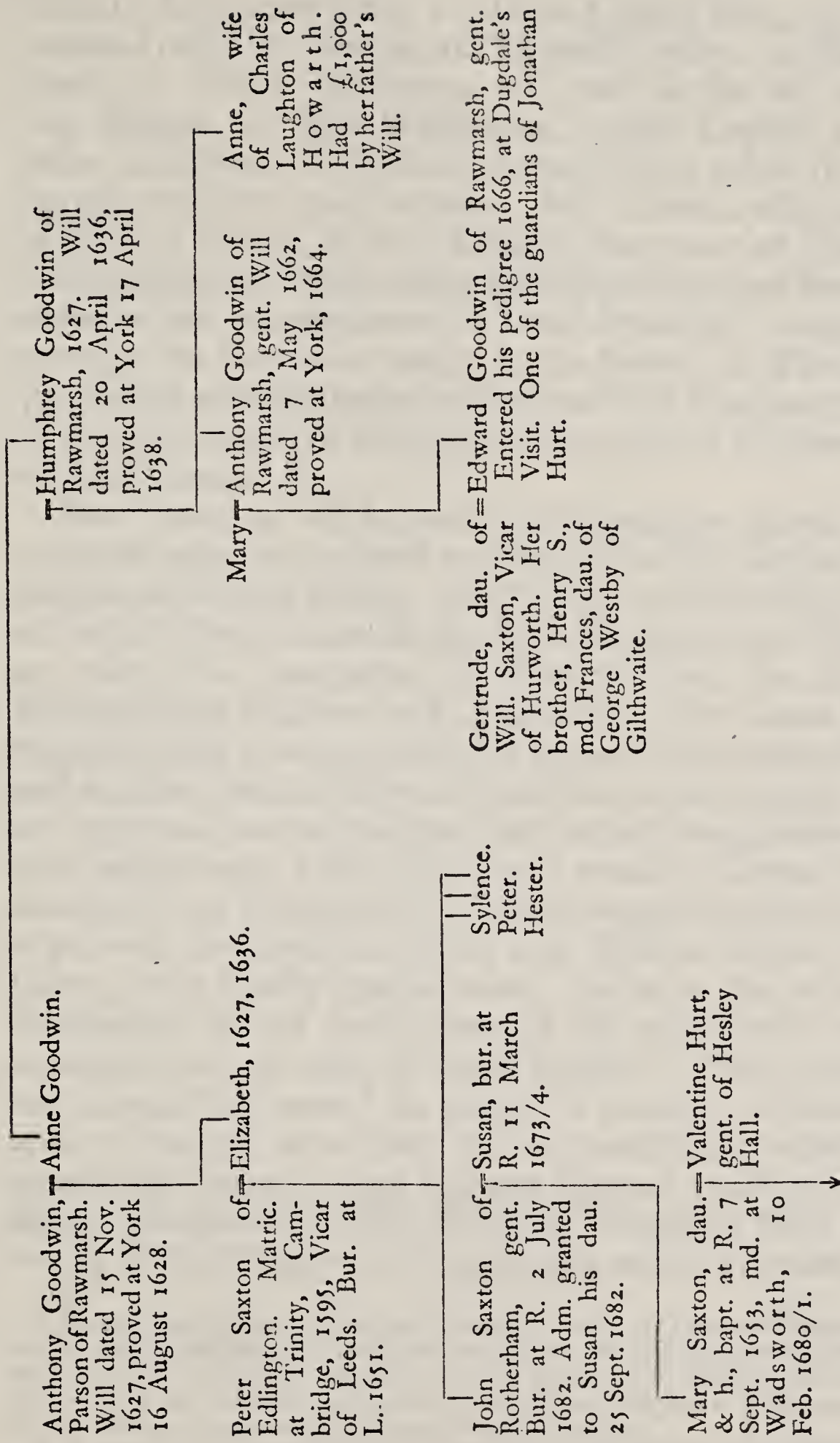
1575. Bapt. Sept. 4. Agnes, child of Christopher Saxton, Bramley.

1588. Burials. . . . Widow of Christopher Saxton the chorographer.

1627. May 7. Grace, dau. of Tho. Saxton of hun. Wodhouse.

Upon this last entry, Thoresby in the Society's MS. gives the following note: 'Query what relation this Thomas bears to Christopher Saxton, the excellent chorographer, who, Mr. Scudamore tells me, lived or at least had relations there, and frequently resided with them?' See Thoresby's *Victoria Leod.* p. 88. Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty in his *Miscellaneous Pedigrees* (about two-thirds of the way through the volume) endeavours to piece together from sixteenth-century Wills a pedigree of Saxton of Leeds. The Christian name Christopher occurs again, but no Peter is to be found.

1900-1901. 1902-1903. 1904-1905. 1906-1907. 1908-1909. 1910-1911. 1912-1913. 1914-1915. 1916-1917. 1918-1919. 1920-1921. 1922-1923. 1924-1925. 1926-1927. 1928-1929. 1930-1931. 1932-1933. 1934-1935. 1936-1937. 1938-1939. 1940-1941. 1942-1943. 1944-1945. 1946-1947. 1948-1949. 1950-1951. 1952-1953. 1954-1955. 1956-1957. 1958-1959. 1960-1961. 1962-1963. 1964-1965. 1966-1967. 1968-1969. 1970-1971. 1972-1973. 1974-1975. 1976-1977. 1978-1979. 1980-1981. 1982-1983. 1984-1985. 1986-1987. 1988-1989. 1990-1991. 1992-1993. 1994-1995. 1996-1997. 1998-1999. 2000-2001. 2002-2003. 2004-2005. 2006-2007. 2008-2009. 2010-2011. 2012-2013. 2014-2015. 2016-2017. 2018-2019. 2020-2021. 2022-2023. 2024-2025. 2026-2027. 2028-2029. 2030-2031. 2032-2033. 2034-2035. 2036-2037. 2038-2039. 2040-2041. 2042-2043. 2044-2045. 2046-2047. 2048-2049. 2050-2051. 2052-2053. 2054-2055. 2056-2057. 2058-2059. 2060-2061. 2062-2063. 2064-2065. 2066-2067. 2068-2069. 2070-2071. 2072-2073. 2074-2075. 2076-2077. 2078-2079. 2080-2081. 2082-2083. 2084-2085. 2086-2087. 2088-2089. 2090-2091. 2092-2093. 2094-2095. 2096-2097. 2098-2099. 2100-2101. 2102-2103. 2104-2105. 2106-2107. 2108-2109. 2110-2111. 2112-2113. 2114-2115. 2116-2117. 2118-2119. 2120-2121. 2122-2123. 2124-2125. 2126-2127. 2128-2129. 2130-2131. 2132-2133. 2134-2135. 2136-2137. 2138-2139. 2140-2141. 2142-2143. 2144-2145. 2146-2147. 2148-2149. 2150-2151. 2152-2153. 2154-2155. 2156-2157. 2158-2159. 2160-2161. 2162-2163. 2164-2165. 2166-2167. 2168-2169. 2170-2171. 2172-2173. 2174-2175. 2176-2177. 2178-2179. 2180-2181. 2182-2183. 2184-2185. 2186-2187. 2188-2189. 2190-2191. 2192-2193. 2194-2195. 2196-2197. 2198-2199. 2200-2201. 2202-2203. 2204-2205. 2206-2207. 2208-2209. 2210-2211. 2212-2213. 2214-2215. 2216-2217. 2218-2219. 2220-2221. 2222-2223. 2224-2225. 2226-2227. 2228-2229. 2230-2231. 2232-2233. 2234-2235. 2236-2237. 2238-2239. 2240-2241. 2242-2243. 2244-2245. 2246-2247. 2248-2249. 2250-2251. 2252-2253. 2254-2255. 2256-2257. 2258-2259. 2260-2261. 2262-2263. 2264-2265. 2266-2267. 2268-2269. 2270-2271. 2272-2273. 2274-2275. 2276-2277. 2278-2279. 2280-2281. 2282-2283. 2284-2285. 2286-2287. 2288-2289. 2290-2291. 2292-2293. 2294-2295. 2296-2297. 2298-2299. 2300-2301. 2302-2303. 2304-2305. 2306-2307. 2308-2309. 2310-2311. 2312-2313. 2314-2315. 2316-2317. 2318-2319. 2320-2321. 2322-2323. 2324-2325. 2326-2327. 2328-2329. 2330-2331. 2332-2333. 2334-2335. 2336-2337. 2338-2339. 2340-2341. 2342-2343. 2344-2345. 2346-2347. 2348-2349. 2350-2351. 2352-2353. 2354-2355. 2356-2357. 2358-2359. 2360-2361. 2362-2363. 2364-2365. 2366-2367. 2368-2369. 2370-2371. 2372-2373. 2374-2375. 2376-2377. 2378-2379. 2380-2381. 2382-2383. 2384-2385. 2386-2387. 2388-2389. 2390-2391. 2392-2393. 2394-2395. 2396-2397. 2398-2399. 2400-2401. 2402-2403. 2404-2405. 2406-2407. 2408-2409. 2410-2411. 2412-2413. 2414-2415. 2416-2417. 2418-2419. 2420-2421. 2422-2423. 2424-2425. 2426-2427. 2428-2429. 2430-2431. 2432-2433. 2434-2435. 2436-2437. 2438-2439. 2440-2441. 2442-2443. 2444-2445. 2446-2447. 2448-2449. 2450-2451. 2452-2453. 2454-2455. 2456-2457. 2458-2459. 2460-2461. 2462-2463. 2464-2465. 2466-2467. 2468-2469. 2470-2471. 2472-2473. 2474-2475. 2476-2477. 2478-2479. 2480-2481. 2482-2483. 2484-2485. 2486-2487. 2488-2489. 2490-2491. 2492-2493. 2494-2495. 2496-2497. 2498-2499. 2500-2501. 2502-2503. 2504-2505. 2506-2507. 2508-2509. 2510-2511. 2512-2513. 2514-2515. 2516-2517. 2518-2519. 2520-2521. 2522-2523. 2524-2525. 2526-2527. 2528-2529. 2530-2531. 2532-2533. 2534-2535. 2536-2537. 2538-2539. 2540-2541. 2542-2543. 2544-2545. 2546-2547. 2548-2549. 2550-2551. 2552-2553. 2554-2555. 2556-2557. 2558-2559. 2560-2561. 2562-2563. 2564-2565. 2566-2567. 2568-2569. 2570-2571. 2572-2573. 2574-2575. 2576-2577. 2578-2579. 2580-2581. 2582-2583. 2584-2585. 2586-2587. 2588-2589. 2590-2591. 2592-2593. 2594-2595. 2596-2597. 2598-2599. 2600-2601. 2602-2603. 2604-2605. 2606-2607. 2608-2609. 2610-2611. 2612-2613. 2614-2615. 2616-2617. 2618-2619. 2620-2621. 2622-2623. 2624-2625. 2626-2627. 2628-2629. 2630-2631. 2632-2633. 2634-2635. 2636-2637. 2638-2639. 2640-2641. 2642-2643. 26



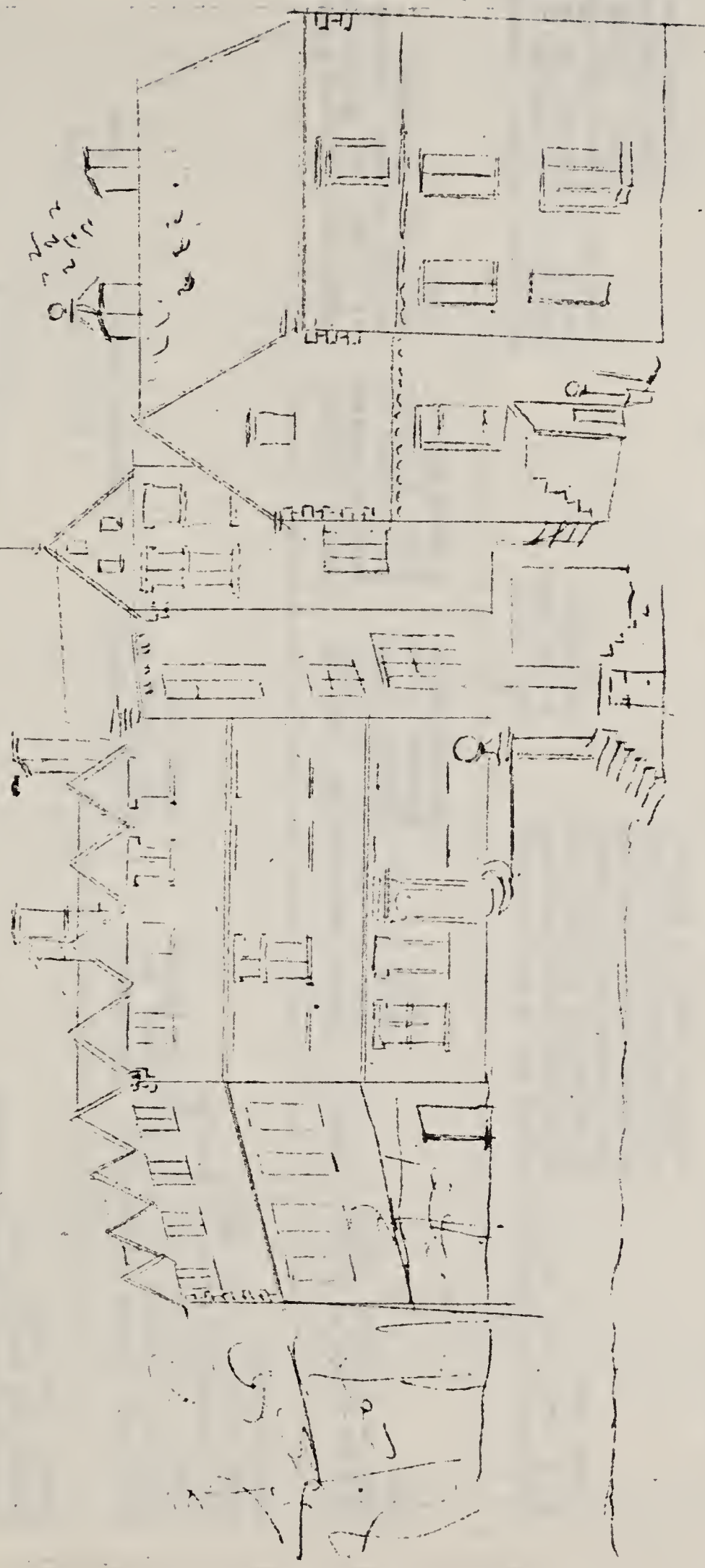
Richard Mountney Esq., 12, Lion. Copley Esq., 19'; in an undated roll, 'Mr. Saxton, 10, Lyonell Copley, 19, Mr. Mandevill, 12, Widd. Wilkinson, 10'; and in the roll of 1674, 'Mr. Saxton, 10, Mrs. Wilkinson, 10, Mr. Copley, 14'. No other inhabitant of Rotherham paid upon more than nine hearths, and few upon so many. Mr. Saxton's wife seems to have been related to that Richard Burrowes of Shiercliffe Hall and Tinsley with whom Nicholas Hurt had been associated in the management of Lord Strafford's estates, and through the Burrowes family to the Revels of Whiston. In June 1660, administration of the goods of Margaret, widow of John Boroughs of Giltwhaite, was granted to 'Susan, wife of John Saxton'.*

Mrs. Hurt, as will be seen in the pedigree given on the opposite page, was related to most of the old families in the neighbourhood of Hesley. The Westbys of Giltwhaite† lived six and a half miles from Rotherham, the Stringers of Whiston six miles, the Laughtons of Howarth five, the Kents of Kimberworth Hall two and a half miles. The 'Cozen Laughton of Newell' to whom she left a bequest of wearing apparel, and another cousin, Edward Goodwin of Rawmarsh, whom she appointed one of the guardians of her younger son, were near neighbours, while Mr. Hurt's cousins, Edward Satterthwaite of the White Hall in Greasborough (the other trustee appointed for Jonathan Hurt) and William Skyers of Hay Green, were hardly further away. Guest, in his account of Rotherham in the early years of the eighteenth century, mentions two or three of these families. 'There resided in and around the town,' he writes, 'a number of families of ancient descent, who from the inter-marriages which took place among them, seem to have formed a somewhat dignified and agreeable state of society. Amongst these are the names of the Westbys of Giltwhaite and of Howarth, Fol-

* Hunter in error writes 'daughter' instead of 'wife'. A paper at Renishaw relating to the defalcations of Thomas Brailesford has the following note: 'Sept. 28th, 1674. Thomas Brailesford received of John Saxton of Rotherham and Mr. Kay, which was in part of a debt upon accompt of a Coale Delph and Coales sould them by Mr. William Sacheverell upon Mrs. Sitwell's accompt.'

† A drawing of Giltwhaite Hall, the seat of George Westby, Esq., in about 1723, will be found in B.M. Lansdowne MS. 914, fo. 66. On fo. 80 is a pen-and-ink drawing, here reproduced, of Rawmarsh, the seat of Edward Goodwin.

The South Prospect of Rawmarsh Hall The Seat of Edw Goodwin Esq




RAWMARSH HALL

the seat of Edward Goodwin

(from Lansdowne MS. 914)

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Nicholas Saxton 

Gertrude, wife of
Will. Clarke, md.
before 1618.

Henry Saxton,
gent., of Hawke-
house Green co.
York. Will dated
6 March 1694/5.*

William Saxton, = Edith, dau. & Vicar of Harworth, d. 1693, aged 75.	coh. of Will. Marshall of Moor Allerton, d. 16 Feb. 1680, aged 54.
--	--

Sarah, md. = Laurence Wharton
12 Jan. of Wellingley,
1642/3, d. gent., nephew of
20 Aug. Sir Michael.
1661.

Sarah, md. in
in 1691, John
Stephenson.

Gertrude, = Edward Goodwin
of Rawmarsh, gent.
is bro, 8 Entered his pedi-
April 1675. gree in 1666 at Dug-
dale's Visitation.
One of the guardians
of Jonathan Hurt.

See Hunter's *Deanery of Doncaster*, i. 246; ii. 19, 36; Foster's *Yorkshire Pedigrees*; *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 603.
* See Close Rolls, 13 Car. II, part 9, no. 34, and *Chanc. Proc.*, Whittington, bundle 66.

jambe, Finch, Tooker, Aislabie, Buck, Mandeville, Kent, Sorsbie, Tunnicliffe, Harrison, Fenton, etc.* It was in this little world that Mr. and Mrs. Hurt spent their lives, and amongst the Westbys, Sorsbies, Tookers, Mandevilles, Kents and Aslabies, that their bodies rest in the choir of the parish church.

Rotherham was still the 'fair Rotherham' of the Dragon of Wantley ballad; indeed, even as late as 1786 a local poet (6) dwells upon the beauty of the surrounding scenery, of river, hills, dales, and woodland:

A little world within thyself thou art,
Where nature liberally has done her part.
Thy fertile fields with corn and hay abound,
Thy mart with flocks and herds is weekly crown'd.
For thee pours in abundance, yet unsought,
Thy river thick with vessels richly fraught.

No golden argosies now float upon the black, ill-odorous Don, and it is difficult to conceive a time when Millgate, High Street and Westgate were full of quaint old houses, and the social life of the place centred round the glorious old church. Races were held on the Town-moor, and it is probable that an assembly and bowling-green were already in existence. We know that there was a coffee-house in 1685† patronized by the local gentry, and Hunter refers to a 'Christening dinner of the heir of Mr. Westby of Ravenfield' in January, 1696: 'a contemporary MS.—the dishes follow' (7). But alas! the dishes are not for us! The great antiquary, who would not have missed the most trivial piece of genealogy, did not think them worth transcribing, and we have lost our dinner! With these trifling exceptions, how little do we know of the 'somewhat dignified and agreeable society' to which Guest refers. All the families which composed it are extinct or departed, and except for a few bequests of plate or wearing apparel and for depressing glimpses in inventories of hushed and darkened houses, hardly a memory remains.

* Guest's *Rotherham*, p. 680.

† Church Accounts 1685. 'Paid at Coffee house, when Captaine Gill sent for Richard Hirst & us about the Bells, 8d.'

Mrs. Hurt's cousin Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of the last William Skyres of Hay Green, married at Worsborough on the 19th May 1681, Edward Satterthwaite, of the White Hall in Greasborough; her sister Jane, in June 1684 took to her husband Josiah Stevenson, gentleman, of Rotherham. The latter, who was brother to William Stevenson, Rector of Rawmarsh, lived, as appears by his Will, in the street called Briggate. In the Rotherham registers are many entries* relating to Mr. Hurt's children. It is interesting to observe that he named one son Walter, thus showing that he was aware of his descent from the first Walter Hurt of Haldworth, or at least of his kinship to that family, among whom the name continued to be in favour.

Though Hesley is in the parish of Ecclesfield, Mr. Hurt and his wife attended Rotherham Church, sitting in a pew which was an appurtenance of their house in Millgate. In 1683-91, as appears by the accounts, he was often charged to lay in a store of claret and sack for the Sacrament and for the refreshment of clergymen who came to preach in the church, just as his father-in-law, Mr. Saxton, had done in 1676-82. In 1688, he acted as churchwarden, and the accounts he rendered are interesting as showing that in the late seventeenth century, ringing the changes had been developed into a fine art. The bells at Rotherham were rung, first, when the Prince of Wales was born; next, when the Bishops were acquitted; after that, when the Prince of

*Jonathan, son of Valentine Hurt, was baptized at Rotherham 26 November 1691; John, 29 June 1685; Valentine, 8 August 1690. Susan and Mary, the daughters of Valentine, on the 28th November 1681, and the 26th October 1687. There are also the following entries of burial:

- 1665. May 17. Nath., son of Thos Hurt.
- 1681/2. Jan. 19. Susana, Daughter of Mr. Valentine Hirt.
- 1685/6. March 6. John, son of Mr. Valentine Hurt.
- 1687/8. Feb. 5. Walter, son of Mr. Valentine Hurt.
- 1688. March 30. Mary, daughter of Mr. Valentine Hurt.
- 1688. July 20. Nicholas Hurt.
- 1689. July 31. Margaret, D. of Mr. Valentine Hurt.
- 1690. August 9. Valentine Hurt and his Brother which was still born.
- 1692. August 8. Mr. Valentine Hurt.
- 1710. Sept^r. 3. Mary Hurt, widd^w of Rotherham.

The surname of the Nathaniel mentioned above was really Hurst. See *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 395, 1200.

Orange landed in England, and again, when he was proclaimed King:

The Accounts of Mr. Valentine Hurt, Francis Tompson, John Clarke and Samuëll Cundall, Churchwardens for the Towne of Rotherham aforesaid, for the year last past, rendered and taken the nyne and twentieth day of November, 1869.

May 29.	Paid for ringing that day	o	6	8
	Paid the day following for Ale & bread in the procession, and cheese, tobacco & pipes	o	16	5
	Paid to the Procter for the King's Declaration	o	1	0
June 15.	Paid the Ringers, when wee heard the Prince wasse borne	o	6	0
27.	Paid to the Procter for bringing the King's pro- clamation & the Prayers	o	1	0
	Paid to the Ringers upon the day of thanks giveing	o	6	0
	Paid more to the Ringers, when wee heard the Bishops Cleared	o	6	8
July 22.	Paid for Ale when Mr. Moorehouse preached	o	0	3
Sept. 2.	Paid for Ale when Mr. Turner preached	o	0	3
Nov. 6.	Paid to the Ringers that day*	1	6	8
Feb. 11.	Paid to the Procter for the Prayre Booke	o	1	0
14.	Given to the Ringers, when wee heard the Princes of Oringe wasse comed into England	o	6	8
Feb. 27.	Paid John Cauthorne for the Ringers, when the King wasse proclaimed	o	6	8
	More in Ale att Cutforthas	o	3	0
April 9.	Paid for Ringing upon the Crownation day	o	6	8
	More by order of the nighbours	o	2	0

Few documents have been met with in which Mr. Hurt is mentioned. Hunter has a note that 'among the Kent and Westby evidences is a receipt by Valentine Hurt to Mr. Westby, 30 Nov. 1674, for chief rent due to Sir John Bright (of Badworth) and others' (8). Sir John's mother was, of course, a connexion of Mrs. Hurt, being one of the Westbys of Gilthwaite. Amongst Lord Wharncliffe's title deeds is a lease dated 1 October 1671, by which the Hon. Sidney Wortley, Esquire, lets to Valentine Hurt of the Parish of Ecclesfield, gentleman, all those his coale mynes upon Barnsley Moore in the manor of Barnsley *cum* Dodworth lately in the occupation of Gamaliel Milner† deceased, and now of the

* The Prince of Orange landed in England on the fifth.

† Gamaliel Milner, gent. of Burton Grange. See his pedigree in Hunter's *Dean. Donc.* ii (p. 276), *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 760-1, and Wilkinson's *Worsborough*. He was a

said Valentine. The term is twelve years, and the annual rent forty pounds without any deduction for taxes. The seal exhibits within an octagon a double-eagle displayed, being probably an office seal belonging to the attorney who drew up the lease.

There is also among the Wilson papers at Bolsterstone, a memorandum (9) relating to an arbitration upon some matter in dispute between Mr. Hurt and others against Sir Francis Burdett.

4 Martii, 1683.

Memdum. That the Leases & the counterparte delivered and deposited with Mr. Wilson, Vicar of Sheffield, are delivered and deposited soe as Mr. Eyre, Mr. Hurt, and Mr. Boughton(*) may have the advantage of the Coven'ts therein conteined, to sue for the forty fower pounds tenn shillings in dispute betwixt the said Mr. Eyre, Mr. Hurt, and Mr. Broughton and Sir Francis Burdett, in case the Referees or umpire to whom itt is now referred make noe Award therein, or the parties submitt not hereto. And in case the said Referrees or Umpire doe not make any Award concerneing the premisses before the first day of August next, then the said Mr. Willson to deliver the same Lease and Counterpart to each party to whom the same doth belong, or to whom they doe by writing under hands appoint. But then the said Mr. Eyre and part'rs are not to have any other advantage by the said Lease, but onely as to the Recovery of the forty fower pounds Tenn shillings; but to release all the rest of the Coven'ts in the said Lease if required, except what Covenant is thought fitt to enable them to recover the said fforty ffower pounds Tenn shillings.

ffr. Burdett.

Robt. Boughton.

Va: Hurt.

Another mineral speculation is disclosed by a Bill in Chancery (10) of 24 October 1687, addressed to the notorious Jeffreys, whereby Valentine Hurt of Rotherham, co. York, gentleman, demands an account from his late partners, John Eyre of Sheffield, gentleman, and Robert Boughton of Sheffield, mercer. It appears that in an indenture of 11 July 1680, 'Your Orator by the name of Valentine Hurt of Hesley Hall in the parish of Ecclesfield & County aforesaid, gentleman', agreed with them to go shares in a messuage, farm, forge and tenement, near the Pond Milne in Sheffield, with the

Quaker, is said to have entertained George Fox, and about 1657 gave a site at Monk Bretton for a Quaker burial ground, being the first so set apart in England.

* See *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 196.

wheels, bellows, hammers, tongs, &c., to the said forge belonging, and also in a Furnace called Rockley Furnace, which was taken to supply the said forge. After two years they jointly assigned the term and stock to 'one Mr. Hayford and others', no doubt the William Hayford who later on had a lease of the Renishaw Ironworks. In these two years, iron had been sold to the value of £2,500, and for the £500 no account had been rendered by the other partners.

There is also a Bill in Chancery of 13 June 1687, by 'Valentine Hurt of Rotherham in the County of York, gentleman'. This shows that, about seven years before, John Eyre of Sheffield borrowed £600 from Mr. German Poole since deceased, and requested the said Valentine Hurt to be bound with him as his surety; and knowing the said John Eyre to be possessed of very considerable estate, the said Hurt became bound unto one Benjamin Clarke of Stanley, co. York, gentleman, brother-in-law to the said German Poole, in the sum of £1,250 for the payment of £600. Eyre repaid the whole sum with interest to German Poole, and received back the same bond, and having kept it uncanceled, confederated with the Executors of the said German Poole, namely, Benjamin Clarke, Sir Henry Hunlock of Wingerworth and Margaret Poole, to make the said Valentine Hurt pay the money over again, although they well knew the said money was repaid years ago with interest. And they caused the said Valentine Hurt to be arrested in the name of the said Benjamin Clarke, and detained in custody until he procured John Wilson and John Scargill* to be his sureties in a bond of £1,200 for his appearance in His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas at Westminster.

Sir Henry Hunlock replies that the bond is in his possession. He has heard and believes that the said John Eyre paid £300 of the sum owing and said that Mr. Hurt would pay the other £300. Mr. Clarke and Mr. Pole deny all confederacy, gave no order to arrest Mr. Hurt, and do not desire him to pay. It appears that John Eyre required the £600

* This person married in 1697 at Rotherham, Hannah daughter of Henry Foljambe of Eastwood, gent. John Eyre was of Sheffield Manor, a son of Eyre of Cockbridge, Lieutenant for King Charles I (11).

referred to in 1680 or thereabouts in order to pay Lady Pilkington for wood bought in Bradley. After the death of Mr. Pole, the bond was found amongst his papers and was delivered to Sir Henry Hunlock as his Executor (12).

These sudden arrests for debt, real or alleged, were amongst the worst legal abuses of the time, and the difficulty of finding security at a moment's notice often led to the victim being thrown into some fever-haunted gaol. It will be remembered that Peter the Great of Russia during his stay in England was subject at the instance of some tradesman to this indignity of arrest, which might have had the most serious consequences upon international relations.

Upon Mr. Hurt's personal character and tastes these lawsuits throw no light. As one educated under Hoole's improved method of teaching the classics, he must have been able to speak and write Latin with ease as well as to understand it. That he was a good judge of wine is shown by the fact that in 1683-9 he was often directed by the churchwardens to buy wine for the Sacrament and for the entertainment of strange ministers, and we may draw the inference either that he visited London more frequently than most of his neighbours, or perhaps that he was more sociable than they; more often in the company of people at whose houses good wine was to be found. He was a staunch Churchman, and his father having been a Royalist and in the service of Lord Strafford, it goes without saying that he was an out-and-out Tory in politics. In the clearing of the Bishops he may have rejoiced, but it may be doubted whether he took any pleasure in the ringing of bells to celebrate the landing of William; and certainly, on the occasion of the Coronation, his arrangements failed to satisfy the neighbours. His son's greatest friends, the Balguys, Stathams and Heatons, were zealous supporters of the Old Pretender; indeed, up to the last decade of the eighteenth century, when Francis Hurt Sitwell of Renishaw was President of the 'Church and King' Club, the family were certainly Tory and perhaps Jacobite as well.

In August 1692,* Mr. Hurt died at Hesley at the age of

* 'Mr. Vollantine Hurtt, who departed this Life the seventh day, and was buried the Eaight day, and Affidavit Received the 9th of August, 1692.' Rotherham register.

fifty-three. He was buried in the north chapel beside the choir of Rotherham church, where is a slab covering his body and that of his wife:

'Here lieth the body of Mr. Vallentine Hurt, who died the 7th day of August and was buried the 8th, 1692.'

'Here lieth Mary, y^e wife of Vollantine Hurt, Gent., who departed this life 1st day of Sept., and was buried y^e 3rd day, 1710, being aged 57 years.'

This tombstone is in the space now covered by the organ, and can with difficulty be reached. Valentine died intestate, and administration was granted to his widow at York on the 19th September 1692. Mrs. Hurt continues to be described as 'of Rotherham', just as her husband had been, for they owned property in that parish. She may have remained at Hesley for some years after the death of her husband. In 1697, according to Eastwood, the rent of £35 was still paid in the name of Valentine Hurt, and it is indisputable that the lease did not terminate until Michaelmas 1707. But it seems more probable that she removed to some house in Upper or Canklow Moorgate, which, being on the edge of Rotherham parish adjoining Whiston, was within easy reach of her cousins, the Stringers, Westbys and Laughtons, Boroughs and Revels.* By an indenture of 15 September 1698, Richard Sterne of York, Esquire, lets to Mary Hurt of Rotherham, widow, three closes in parcels called Rotherham Upper Flatt and Lower Flatt in Whiston, containing thirty-seven acres, as the same now are and long have been in her tenure. The term twenty-one years and the rent £14. Witnesses, William Grene, Nathan Drake, F. Wright. Seal and signature of Mary Hurt (13).

Of the persons mentioned in the indenture just referred to, Richard Sterne was son of the Archbishop; William Greene was brother-in-law to Edward Goodwin of Rawmarsh, being apparently second son of the John Green who entered his

* Elizabeth Westby and her husband, Richard Kent of Kimberworth, are usually described at this time as of Whiston; the latter died in 1704, and his widow was still residing there five years later. William Kent, brother to Richard, lived at Ickles Hall, where Valentine had been brought up.

pedigree at Dugdale's Visitation (14). Nathan Drake may be the Vicar of Sheffield, but the family was a wide-spreading one and the Christian name common among them.

The road to London up to the year 1617 had passed through Rotherham Flat by a narrow pack-horse lane running between old border oak-trees (15). The upper and lower closes into which the Flat was afterwards divided appear in a survey of the Whiston estate made in 1777 for Francis Hurt Sitwell, to whom they belonged, and amongst the property inherited from his father the entail of which he had barred in 1773, was one acre of pasture in a field called Canklow in Rotherham abutting on the west on the highway leading from Rotherham to Whiston.

Mrs. Hurt died in September 1710. Her Will, which was made in the previous year, is as follows:

'In the name of god, Amen. I, Mary Hurt of Rotherham in the County of York, Widdow, being under some distemper of body but thanks be to god sound of mind, do make & constitute this my last Will & Testament this day, being the 19 day of May in the year of our Lord god 1709, as follows:

'Imprimis, I give & bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty god thatt gave itt, in hopes of Eternall salvation through the meritts of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, & my body to be interr'd in the quire in Rotherham Church in my husband's grave. Item, my will is thatt Nicholas Hurt, my elder son shall have one gold ring with this posie on itt (A true freind's gift), one wrought silver tumbler. Item, to my Cur. Laughton of Newil one Sattin twilted petticoat. Item, to my Cur. Margaret Speight my best Musling apron & my Scarf. Item, to Jane Satterthwaite my best stays & a silk handkerchief & one pair of white Gloves. Item, to Mary Robinson a black mantua.

'When my debts & funerall charges are paid, I give all the rest of my personal estate to Jonathan Hurt, my younger Son, & make & constitute him the said Jonathan Hurt my younger son Executor of this my last will & testament, & I doe appoint Mr. Edward Goodwin of Rawmarch & Mr. Edward Satterthwaite of Grasbrooke guardians for him, while he come att age. Item, I give to Mr. Edward Goodwin & Mr. Edw'd Satter-

*thwaite either of them half a guiny with their charges born. Seal'd
& delivered in the presence of these whose names are subscribed,*

Thomas Radley

Edward Satterthwaite

Joseph Greenwood, his mark.

*I would have Nicolas Hurt to have the Great Brass pot and the
great Morter & pestill.'*

The legatees named in the Will were nearly all relations. 'Cozen Laughton of Newil' is Alatheia, wife of Benjamin Laughton of Newhill,* which may probably be Newhill Hall in the parish of Wath, four and a half miles from Hesley. She was a daughter of William Grimston of Grimston by Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Norcliff, and her grandmother was daughter of Lord Elmley. Her husband, who married her in 1696, was brother to John Laughton of Howarth Grange, and eighth in descent from Robert de Laughton, lord of that place, the latter being a younger brother of the Sir John who married a co-heir of the famous Sir John Chandos (16). 'Cuzen Margaret Speight' it has not been possible to identify, but she may probably have been nearly related to the Arthur Speight of Attercliffe who died in 1738 (17). Jane Satterthwaite was probably a daughter of the Edward Satterthwaite of the White Hall† in Greasborough, gentleman, who witnesses the Will and is appointed a trustee; he had married in 1681 Mr. Hurt's cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of William Skyers of Hay Green. Mary Robinson may perhaps be the Mary daughter of Robert Wood, gentleman, of Monk Bretton near Silkston, who married . . . Robinson of Sheffield, Mr. Wood's father having lived at Masborough close to Rotherham (18). Edward Goodwin of Rawmarsh Hall, the other trustee appointed by the Will, was the husband of Mrs. Hurt's cousin Gertrude Saxton, daughter of the Rev. William Saxton by Edith, daughter and co-heir of William

* See B.M. Addit MS. 24460, fo. 128, also Foster's *Yorkshire Pedigrees*. A view of the existing Newhill Hall, built in 1784, is given in the Rev. W. Keble Martin's *History of Wath upon Dearne*. It stands on the site of the New Hall which Adam Fitz Swain gave to Bretton Priory in 1155.

† The White Hall is plainly marked in the large map of South Yorkshire, published in 1817. It was close to Wentworth Park.

XII. THE SATTERTHWAITES OF THE WHITE HALL.

Thomas Satterthwaite of Gres- = Gertrude, dau. of Thomas
brook, gent. Will dated 16 Morton of Spouthouse in
Feb. 1653, bur. at Rotherham Bradfield, sister to Fran. M.,
8 March 1653/4. who entered his pedigree,
1666. Bapt. 18 Oct. 1605.

William Satterthwaite of = Ellen.
Briggate, Rotherham,
1627. Will dated 1 Jan.
1639.

Thomas Satterthwaite of the = Sarah, dau. of Ed. Wingfield
White Hall in Gresbrook, of Billingley in Darfield, sister
gent. Will dated 19 Jan. 1674. to Ed. W., gent., whose Will is
dated 8 Sept. 1663.

Edward Satterthwaite of the = Elizabeth, dau. of Will. Skyers
White Hall, gent., 1692, 1709. of Hay Green, md. at Wors-
One of the guardians of Jona- borough 19 May 1681, bur. at
than Hurt. Rotherham 8 July 1692.

William Satterthwaite, living = Mary Swinden, md.
1663, to whom his uncle Will. at Rotherham 16
Wingfield left all his Latin June 1657.
books.

Marshall of Moor Allerton. He entered his pedigree at the Visitation of 1666, and in July of the same year signs a warrant to the constables of Aldwark, Greasborough, Kimberworth, Brightside, Ecclesfield and Bradfield, calling upon all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to appear with their best arms at Doncaster upon the firing of Grenoside beacon (19). A drawing of his seat at Rawmarsh will be found in Lansdowne MS. 914.

Bequests of clothes are a common feature in Wills of this period, reflecting the growing love and cost of dress. A petticoat, or skirt as we should call it, and a mantua were the principal articles of feminine attire. Bridget Noel writes to her sister, Lady Rutland, in December 1685: 'I am wondered at for bying a black petcot, for they say black mantos is worn, but colored petcots with the mantos.' In the following summer she comments on the 'fritful red manto' of another sister, Lady Gainsborough: 'it is purpel and a great dell of green and a litel gould and great flowrs; there is some red with the green and noe lining, which luks most abomenable'. Mrs. Hurt's cousin, Anne Stringer of Sharlston, who was a daughter of Sir John Melton, Keeper of the Great Seal for the North of England, leaves in 1691 to her daughter Palmes her 'black flowred silke mantow and petticoat'. Attached to Mary Hurt's Will is an inventory, giving the furniture of the 'house' or hall, the parlour, great chamber, little chamber, &c., but not with any clearness or vividness. One notices amongst the items seven pounds of unspun line, one more indication that ladies at this time occupied themselves with weaving and spinning. The Will and inventory, though short and colourless, bring before us Mrs. Hurt in her black silk mantua, muslin apron and scarf and quilted satin petticoat, sitting in the family pew at Rotherham church with her younger son beside her, or spinning at her wheel in the Great Chamber with its four-poster bedstead, great table and nine pictures upon the walls—one wonders what they were. This was the Age of Walnut, but the furniture of the house was undoubtedly oak dating from 1670, when her husband had first settled at Hesley Hall.

Some small landed property which had belonged to Mrs.

Hurt's father descended upon her death to her elder son. A lease and release of 24 June 1773, shows that her younger son, who died in 1731, had been possessed of a wood called the Boyd Royd in the parish of Wath (in which parish Wentworth also lies), a house, garden, and six shops with four gardens in Rotherham. The town property is described in detail as consisting of a dwelling house in a street called the Milne Gate, late in the occupation of John Smith and John Saville, but now (1773) of George Frith or his assigns; four shops, late in six, with the gardens, slaughter house, &c. at the east end or upper end of the shambles, then or late in the holding of Ann Scammadine, Lawrence Thompson, Richard Jubb, and John Kent, gentleman; a parcel of land, formerly a garden, situated near Rotherham Bridge-end in the lordship of Kimberworth, containing eight perches, then or late in the occupation of the Earl of Effingham or his assigns; an acre of land in a field called Canklow; three acres lately inclosed from Rotherham Common. In the assessments for the repair of the parish church, the house is always entered under Church Lane, Millgate being the next street mentioned: in these 'Mr. Hurt' pays in 1724 for John Firth's house and an acre of land; his widow, 'Mrs. Hurt of Sheffield', in 1732. The house carried with it the use of a pew in Rotherham church.

Nicholas Hurt, the eldest son, disappears from view after 1709, and no doubt died unmarried. Mrs. Hurt's second son, Jonathan, baptized at Rotherham, 28 November 1691, was evidently named in remembrance of her brother, Jonathan Saxton, who was two years her senior and died at the age of twelve in February 1663/4. Throughout the seventeenth century this Christian name was much in fashion amongst the gentry residing at Rotherham and in the neighbourhood. Jonathan Staniforth of that town, was baptized on the 4th June 1608, Jonathan Hurst of Dalton, before October 1651, Jonathan Laughton of the Howarth family, on the 28th October 1654.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BALGUY LETTERS

CONCERNING social life in Sheffield during the first half of the eighteenth century we have little or no information; it has therefore been thought desirable to devote one chapter to the Balguy letters of 1717-19,* and another to the notebooks (1731-9) of Francis Sitwell. Phillis, the writer of the letters, was a daughter of Henry Balguy of Aston, Esquire, by Walburge, daughter and coheir of Anthony Senior of Cowley, gentleman, and eventually married one of the Lucys of Charlecote.† She writes from Hagg in the parish of Hope, the seat of her father's family. Her great friend, Frances or Fanny Statham, lived with her mother at Tideswell, three or four miles from Hope, being a daughter of Thomas Statham‡ of Tideswell, gentleman, by Mary, daughter and coheir of John Ibbetson of Bradfield, and widow of Nicholas Shirecliffe of Whitley Hall. This was a younger branch of the Stathams of Morley in Derbyshire and Statham in Cheshire. Fanny's brother, William, is described as 'of Sheffield Park, gentleman', and her half-brother, Sir John Statham, who afterwards served as Envoy to the Court of Turin, was often over at Sheffield. Owing to these local connexions, Phillis and her friend paid occasional visits to that town, or attended Bradfield wakes for the purpose of meeting their acquaintances; Phillis sometimes spent

* See the Appendix.

† *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 564-5. Mrs. Eccles writes on the 1st January 1735-6, 'Mr. Balguy has been sum time in Warwickshire at his sister Lucye'. See the Eyre correspondence in the possession of Mr. Bagshawe.

‡ By his Will, dated 4 February 1701, proved 6 May 1702, he gave to his son Charles £50; his son Thomas, 4*d.*; his son John, the silver sword which was his father's and all his law books, he paying to the executors £50. To his son Henry, his silver-hilted scimeter, and to his grandson Wigley Statham, the great silver tankard. To his six daughters and William his son, all his estate and goods, except the furniture in the kitchen and his best horse, which he bequeathed to his wife the executrix. Henry Balguy, Esq., John Alleyn, gent., and John Statham, are appointed overseers.

Christmas at the Oaks in Bradfield with her cousins the Morewoods, and Fanny must often have stayed with her mother's relatives the Shirecliffes of Whitley Hall in Ecclesfield, with her sister Mrs. Eccles at Tideswell,* or with Sir John and Lady Statham at Wigwell Grange. Whitley, as Sheffield readers know, is still in existence and shows over a doorway the initials of Thomas Shirecliffe with the date '1683'; 'Eccles Hall' is now the schoolhouse attached to the Grammar School at Tideswell; of Wigwell,† which came to Sir John by marriage in the year 1700, we have a rhetorical description in the letter that follows (1):

SIR JOHN STATHAM TO CHARLES STANHOPE.

To the Hon^{ble} Charles Stanhope Esq
at his Seat at Elvaston.

Dear Sir,

It was uneasy to leave you, but night at hand, I almost overtook Sir N. I did not drive up to him, but went strait home. I begun to consider how to engage you to come hither. If I could form a delicious place by poetical description I would do it to entice you, but I'll give you a plain natural description, and then you'll not be deceived, since you've seen into nature as far as any man.

This was the cheif seate of the great Abbot of Darleigh. I stand in clear air in the region of Health, am not confined, for am above seven miles in circumference, a Mannor without one foot of any one's interfering. In that district is all the convenience of life,—Wood, Coal, Corn of all sorts, Park Venison, a Warren of Rabbits, Fish, Fowl, in the utmost perfection, exempted from all jurisdiction; no Bishops, Priests, Proctors, Apparators, or any such last mentioned Vermine can breath here.

Our way of life here is, Every one does that which is right in his own eyes, go to bed, rise early, lie late, all easy; only we are confined to meet at breakfast, and then order by agreem't what's for dinner. The pastures are loaded with good Beif and Mutton, the dove-coats with pidgeons, the

* A monument in the church at Tideswell, with the arms of Eccles and Statham impaled, has the following inscription: *Underneath are deposited the bodies of Sam'l Eccles Gent'n and Eliz' th his wife, who lived many years in this Town in great repute and esteem. He was descended from an antient ffamily of his Name in Cheshire and died the 8 Oct'r 1734, aged 47 years. She was one of the daughters of Thomas Statham Gent'n, and died the 9th of April 1774, aged 82. Derb. Archæol. Journal, 1913, p. 169.*

† In the parish of Wirksworth, only two or three miles from Alderwasley, the seat of the Hurts.

Mews with partridges, the Canals and Steues with excellent fish, and the barne doores with the finest white, plump Phesant Fowles. Out of those you order your dayly entertainment. After this, if you're for shooting, Moor Game, partridges, Wild Ducks, &c. at the door; if exercise, a good bowling green and many long walks; if reading, a library; if walking, a dry Park, with a delicious nut wood, full of singing birds, turtles and Guinea hens, a delicate Eccho, where musick sounds charmingly. In it are labarinths, statues, arbors, springs, grottos and mossy banks; in the middle a large clear fish Pond with a draw bridge and Close Arbor; in the water a Cellar for choice liquor. If retirement be irksome, on notice to Wirksworth theres loose hands, Gentlemen, Clergymen &c. ever ready at an hour and stay just as long as you'd have 'em and no longer, and easy to be told so.

This is really a genuine and true description of this place and way of life. If you'l come try it and use it as your own, as the master is intirely yours, I do think you'd say, as the first Duke of Devonshire said, the three days he was yearly lost in Needwood forest, those were the only days wherein he tasted life. If rainy weather confines you, I have a library and the famous Chimist, Mr. Harris, to amuse you with experiments, and a Playwright author of some Comedies to divert you. And as I know you rather delight in giving life than taking it away, your visit would give new life to

D'r S'r Your most &c.

JOHN STATHAM.

Sir John was the central figure amongst the Jacobites in the Peak and at Sheffield, the channel through which the members of that party could receive orders or instructions from London or the Continent. From an early age he had interested himself in politics. Having left Oxford and entered Gray's Inn in 1692, we are told that between that year and 1696 he 'contracted an intimate friendship', 'which ever continued to the last', with Vice Chamberlain Coke, Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Buckley. By the influence of these peers he was brought into Parliament as member for St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and they formed the habit of meeting daily at his lodgings in London. He was knighted by Queen Anne at Kensington on June 19, 1710, being the last knight of her creation; later on, he was

appointed Surveyor-General for life of the Duchy of Lancaster, Premier Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Queen, and Envoy to the Court of Turin (2). As one of ten envoys to various countries he supported the canopy over the coffin at her funeral, together with the ten dukes who were bearers. The sudden death of the Queen frustrated Bolingbroke's plan to call her brother, the Old Pretender, to the throne in accordance with her wishes, and the accession of George I put an end to Sir John's hopes of a public career. He died in 1759, aged 83, and was buried in the family vault at Tideswell. As none of his children left issue, the descendants of his half-sisters, Mrs. Eccles and Mrs. Hurt, became eventually his heirs-at-law, and Wigwell Grange passed by a family arrangement to John Mander, a grandson of Mrs. Eccles.

'Mr. Thomas Heaton, *junior*', to whom Phillis's letters are addressed, had bought in 1710 from Joseph Banks, afterwards of Revesby Abbey and M.P. for Grimsby, the 'house at the church gates' in High Street, Sheffield, and in 1727 served as 'Town Collector', an office which was the humble antecedent of that now occupied by the Lord Mayor. He died on the 19th December 1734 in the forty-eighth year of his age. A monumental inscription on a tombstone near the vicarage informs us that he was 'easy and agreeable in every path of private life, and useful to the publick as a member of the three governing bodyes of the Town, the Church, and the Free School'. The Heatons, who were apparently descended from the Manchester family of that name,* had also at this time or a few years later a country villa in the Pickle, on the site of Mr. Francis Hobson's steel works; here they are said to have entertained the Young Pretender in 1744.

Mr. Heaton sometimes rides over to call upon the Balguys at the Hagg, to which house he is often invited. He visits Buxton, taking Hope on his way, or comes to the fairs

* Samuel Heaton or Eaton of Manchester, who is called cousin by Oliver Heywood, married in 1682 a granddaughter of the Rev. John Shaw of Sick-house in Bradfield, and that property was sold by Thomas Heaton of Manchester before 1696. The Will of Thomas Heaton of Sheffield, dated 13 December 1734, is sealed with a coat-of-arms, apparently a chief differenced with a label of three points and in base a rose or cinquefoil. *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 328, 1152; B.M. Addit. MS. 24467, fo. 118; Hunter, *Archæol. Soc. Trans.* vol. i, p. 173.

at the latter place and at Castleton. *'When'*, writes Phillis, *'will you take a trip to see us again? Will you come to our fair?'* In another letter he is pressed to *'come of this side soon'*, and two others repeat the invitation. Later on, a hope is expressed that *'the snow won't ffright you that you dare not venture'*. On one occasion something goes wrong with his horse, and he is obliged to walk part of the way back through the rain in his 'jack-bootts'. Sheffield is only eleven miles from Hope as the crow flies, and there was much intercourse between the two places. 'Our people that goes to Sheffield' are mentioned, and these no doubt carried messages and correspondence to and fro. *'If you han't time to write to morrow'*, says one of the letters, *'you may on Thursday, for a hundred people from this place goes to your Town to fetch Ezra Caulton's old maid that was, and she is likewise to be squired by abundance of Sheffield Beaus: I hope you'll be one.'* There was no service of the post to Hope, and letters addressed to that place had to be inquired for at the post office in Sheffield.

Phillis's correspondent sends books such as the Poems of Lord Lansdowne, Jacobite songs such as 'Brunswick', pamphlets, newsletters, tea, snuff, and other trifles, to her and her friend. Hope is described as a 'very dull place' and to supply the 'poor Peakerills' with news was acknowledged as a 'Great Charitty'. But it was especially the latest tidings of the Jacobite cause and of our 'Dear Disstress'd Monarch' that were desired. Phillis was in possession of a gold locket containing a miniature in Indian ink of the Old Pretender, said to have been given by himself, and certainly on the occasion of his birthday she with her friend Fanny Statham showed more zeal than discretion in expressions of loyalty towards the legitimate heir to the throne.

In a letter which commences, *'June the 10th, God bless the King'*, she writes: *'My ffriend ffaney and my selfe has endeavour'd to express our reguarde to this good Holy day by adorning the Church, this house, the shops, and all other Houses that would lett us with Oke. We likewise wear itt our selves and putt itt in all people's hatts that pass by or that are in the Town, and have had the Bells' rung. What will be the consequence God knows, but I suppose we shall be travelling to Derby in a little time. I hope*

you won't fforgett us in our Disstress, but bestow a Charittable visitt.' On another occasion a letter coming from beyond sea and addressed to Mr. John Bernard in Hope, '*which is a directtion that is sometimes meant to a ffriend of ours*', is intercepted, and being of so large a size and seal and so fine a hand as to attract attention, inquiries have to be made with caution as to what can have become of it.

Opinions so unpopular with the majority of Englishmen, so strongly held and openly expressed, must have been socially disadvantageous, but one is touched by the loyalty to a lost cause of families whose ancestors had fought or suffered for King Charles. These letters give us a refreshing glimpse of a cheerful and innocent little society, courteous without being formal, fond of out-door sports but fond of reading also, keenly interested in politics and without affectation religious. The old families in the Peak are poor, but by no means wanting in culture and refinement; visits to London are rare; luxuries are almost unknown; younger sons as in the previous century have to take up the profession of law or become shopkeepers in some neighbouring town: consequently, though birth and connexions are valued, trade is not looked down upon. The district in which Phillis and her friend are living is described as '*such a remote Corner that what Vergill says of Britany in general is aplicable to us, that wee are devided from the world*' (3); nevertheless, by correspondence, they manage to keep in touch with the march of events, the literature of the day, the changes of taste and fashion. They amuse themselves by 'rambles' to neighbouring country houses, and meet their acquaintances at the village wakes or at the fairs. A visit to their Yorkshire relations at Bradfield or Whitley Hall affords a welcome change from monotonous conditions, and an opportunity of 'seeing Sheffield' marks a red-letter day in their lives.

The death of Queen Anne was not followed by any disturbance at Sheffield. The local Jacobites were overawed by the raising of a troop of horse together with a battalion of 800 scythe-wielding footmen,* and in order to avoid offence

* The following paragraph, which will be found in the *St. James Evening Post* of

or misrepresentation the Duke of Norfolk's agent abandoned the usual meeting of freeholders upon Sembly Green. But many inhabitants continued to be attached to the cause of the Pretender, and amongst these the Heatons seem to have been the most prominent. We know that the Highlanders passed near Sheffield during their retreat from Derby in 1745, and it may be true, though it sounds improbable, that Prince Charles stayed for a night with the Heatons at their country house in the Pickle. Leader deals at some length with the tradition, which was founded upon the recollections of old Mrs. Heaton, then a child, and upon the cherished belief of the family that a sword, a wine-glass, and other articles, were presents from the Young Pretender.

Sense Heaton, afterwards Mrs. Benjamin Cadman of Spinkhill Manor, remembered when a child pushing open a door in an upstairs room at Pickle House in which were 'a number of gentlemen, some sitting and some standing, looking out of the window towards Park Hill. She was hurried away and with many injunctions to secrecy was for some days restricted in her movements, and was kept from her usual walks and from her customary association with other children. In after years, it was matter of common notoriety in the family that the gentlemen thus disturbed were Prince Charles Edward and some of his adherents, who had made the house of Mr. Heaton, a stout upholder of the Stuart cause, a sort of rendezvous, whence they could plot with sympathizers in the neighbourhood, and whence the Prince could go to and fro, visiting other districts' (4).

17 November 1715, has escaped the notice of Sheffield antiquaries: 'At a Session held at Sheffield in Yorkshire, the 7th of this instant, an Association was drawn up, and sign'd by several Hundreds of the Loyal Gentlemen and Inhabitants in this Place, binding themselves in a solemn manner to support King GEORGE, and the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover, with their Blood and Fortunes, against all Pretenders whatsoever. And the said Inhabitants receiving Notice on the 9th Instant, early in the Morning, from my Lord Burlington, that he had reason to believe the Rebels would make an Incursion into this County, &c. The said Inhabitants of Sheffield did immediately raise one good Troop of Horse, well Arm'd with Swords, Pistols, and Carbines, at their own Charge, and sent the same to the said Lord Lieutenant, under the Command of Wm. Jessop, Esq; who was so kind as to offer his Service to Command them. And the said Inhabitants did, on Friday last, raise out of the said Town 800 Footmen arm'd with Firelocks and Scythes, and discipline the same, and have put them into a Method to Fight, in case the Rebels come into this County.'

Among the descendants of Sense Heaton, a number of articles given or used by the Young Pretender on this occasion have long been treasured as heirlooms. 'These include a sword with ivory handle, a high wine glass, on which is engraved a bust of the Prince, a harpsichord, a portrait of Charles I, a view of Park Hill as seen from Pickle House, taken by one of the party at the request of the Prince, and the doors of a cupboard on which the same friend painted portraits. Even the oak table at which the Prince sat, and the vessels he used at his meals, are reverently preserved.'

The Prince's visit was dated by Mrs. Heaton not in 1745, but in 1744, when he was living in the strictest privacy at Gravelines within sight of the English coast, and may possibly have made a secret visit to England. We know that in 1750 he came to London in disguise, arriving there on the 16th of September; there is reason to believe that he was there again in 1752, and according to a report furnished to the government by Lord Albemarle, British ambassador in Paris, he was at Nottingham in May 1754. It is just possible that during one of these secret incursions he visited Sheffield, but more probable that the person received at Pickle House was some prominent supporter or organizer.

'Mr. Hurt', mentioned more than once in these letters as one of Fanny Statham's admirers, is of course Mr. Jonathan Hurt, who married her in 1719, and by his Will of 1731 appoints his 'good freind, Mr. Heaton', a trustee. He was the second son of Valentine Hurt of Hesley Hall, and had probably been educated like his father at Rotherham Grammar School; his mother, as we have seen, died in 1710, leaving him her personal estate and appointing Edward Goodwin of Rawmarsh, Esquire, and Edward Satterthwaite of the White Hall in Greasborough, gentleman, to be his guardians until he came of age. Being a younger son with no prospect of fortune, he had been apprenticed about 1705 to a mercer, a trade followed by several earlier members of his family,* but at the time the Balguy correspondence com-

* Richard Hurt of Coventry, mercer, whose interesting Will is dated in 1562, was probably one of the Ashbourne family, and Richard Hurt of Nottingham may have exercised the same trade. William Hurt of Bristol, who in 1673 presented to

mences had long since left his master. He probably accompanied Mr. Heaton in several of the excursions to Hope, Castleton, and Bradfield, which are described in the letters, as indeed is suggested in that dated 'March the 10th', which enjoins Mr. Heaton to provide Fanny Statham also with a lover. On the 1st June 1719 he and Fanny were married at the parish church, and in the following year, as appears by the freehold presentment of 19 April 1720, he bought from Mr. Kitson of Kingston upon Hull the house in Prior Row, otherwise known as High Street, which he occupied until his death in 1731. A pew in the parish church and two sittings for servants were attached to it. These houses in High Street had each a long strip of garden at the back, laid out in old-fashioned knots and furnished with the flowers which may still be seen blooming in front of old cottages in the country, or with sweet-smelling herbs, such as thyme, mint, and marjoram.* Sheffield was still a pretty market-town, free from the pall of smoke which now disfigures it, and surrounded by 'the greatest variety of agreeable walks and prospects that are to be met with in the same compass in any part of England'.† The best houses, we are told, were in High Street, Norfolk Street near St. Paul's Chapel, and Paradise Row.

Fanny‡ had some small fortune of her own, having in-

the Mercers' Company a loving-cup engraved with his arms (he being descended from Ralph Hurt of Ashbourne) was a mercer, and had been apprenticed in 1632 to a kinsman and namesake, William Hurt, 'mercier and merchant adventurer of England'.

The Mercers were the principal of the Trade Guilds, and their business, which as Hunter says 'designated a wider range of traffic than it does at present', was considered to be not incompatible with gentry. John Gresham, mercer of London, obtained an augmentation to his arms in 1537; Sir Thomas Leigh, mayor and mercer, had arms assigned to him in 1555; William Allen, mercer, in 1561. There are several other instances of grants to sheriffs and mayors while still exercising the trade of mercery. Leader in his *Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century* observes that 'the trade of mercer seems to have been held in especial respect', but fails to notice one of the principal reasons, namely that in country towns mercers often acted as bankers. In legal documents of early eighteenth-century date, 'gentleman and mercer' is a not uncommon description.

* See Mr. Addy's introduction to the Sheffield Directory of 1787.

† See an article by Edward Goodwin in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1764.

‡ Frances is mentioned in the inscription upon her father's monument in Tideswell church, which is worth quoting for the genealogical details it gives concerning the Statham family:

'Thomas Statbam, son and heir of the loyal gentleman, Statham of Edenstall and Tansley,

herited from her father a fifth part of all his estate and goods: she was probably married from the house of her brother, William Statham of Sheffield Park, whose wife was one of the Shirecliffes of Whitley Hall in Ecclesfield. Ten months later, on the 6 April 1720, her brother, Sir John, is at Sheffield, and pays £400 to the said William in the presence of Francis Sitwell and Jonathan Hurt. The release, sealed with a pretty seal of the Statham arms and quarterings, is amongst the Wolley manuscripts in the National Library at London (5). A paper in Mr. Hurt's handwriting records the birth of his son and daughter:

Frances Hurt Born May 16, 1725, being Whitsunday, and had Mr. Dossie to her Godfather and Mrs. Wm. Battie and Mrs. Heaton to her Godmothers.

She dyed aug. 20th, 1725.

My wife Dyed Nov'r 9th 1725.

Jonat. Hurt & Catherine Sitwel married July 20th, 1727.

Francis Hurt born Ap. 29, 1728.

Mr. Dossie is the Rev. John Dossie, Vicar of Sheffield;* in 1738 he and a Mr. Payler were lords of the manor of Eckington. William Battie was a descendant of the Battys of Warmsworth Hall (6), and owned what Mr. Leader describes as a 'residence and valuable property' at Sharrow Head. Mrs. Heaton was the wife of Thomas Heaton, to whom the Balguy letters are addressed.

On the 20th of July 1727 Mr. Hurt married as his second wife Catherine, daughter of William Sitwell. Baptized at

captain of a troop of horse, which he raised at his own charge, for the royal King Charles I., and was afterwards a patient sufferer of the tyrannies and sequestrations of those impious regicides; lineally descended from the ancient and loyal family of Statham, Lords of Morley in this county, and of Statham and Barton in Cheshire. Three of his ancestors, Sir John, Sir Nicholas, and Sir Robert were judges. He married three wives: 1 Barbara, daughter and heir of Cromwell Meverell, of Tideswell, near kinsman of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Ardglass, lineally descended from Francis Meverell of Throwsley, by Anne, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Denham, who had by the said Barbara three sons—Sir John Statham, his heir, Thomas, a captain, and Charles, a merchant; and one daughter, Barbara. His second wife was Mary, relict of Nicholas Shirtcliffe, M.D., by whom he had one son, William, and three daughters, Mary, Elizabeth, and Frances.'

* His two daughters are mentioned in a letter from Mary Dalton, afterwards Lady John Murray, written from Bannercross on the 3rd February 1755. 'I can send you nothing Entertaining from this dull place, only I have had the Miss Dossies to stay with me some time. We begun the New Year with a Ball: our Music, Bagpipes & Violins.'

Sheffield on the 20th August 1702, she had been named after her grandmother, Catherine Sacheverell; it appears that she was educated at Derby (7), and like her cousins, Betty and Alice Sitwell, she may have lodged there with Mrs. Osborne, who was a daughter of William Sacheverell the politician, the same sum of £10 a year being paid for her board. A letter from Jane Sacheverell to Francis Sitwell of Sheffield dated on the 28th November 1727, congratulates him on the new relationship.

'I thank you, Good Cousin', she writes, 'for your letter of enquire & information. I wish your self & family joy of your new Relation. I believe your way of disposing will more universally please than that you proposed. As the younger has presumed to set the Elder an example, you will do well to assist her in following.'

The writer must often have met Mrs. Hurt at Derby. William Osborne writes from that town to Francis Sitwell of Sheffield in November 1726: *'your sister was the other day very well'*; and in the same month Jane desires him to convey her service to his sisters.

Mr. Hurt took an active part in local affairs, though he did not apparently serve as one of the Town Trustees. On their behalf he visited Doncaster in 1724, in order to promote a petition from that town in favour of making the river Don navigable (8). An agreement had already been entered into with the Corporation, and the representatives of Doncaster with the Sheffield Trustees and the Cutlers' Company were zealous supporters of the movement. It appears that the tides already served for navigation from the Ouse to Wilsick, which was within five miles of Doncaster by land; during nine months of the year small vessels were able to reach that town, larger vessels only in times of rises and freshes. It was now desired to perfect the navigation, so that boats of thirty tons could go up to Doncaster and boats of twenty tons to Sheffield. This latter part of the design was abandoned eventually, as it would have interfered with the forges and cutlers' wheels established on the river between Tinsley and Sheffield; cargoes had therefore to be embarked and disembarked at the west end of Tinsley, three miles from the town.

The first open step in the formation of the scheme was taken in November 1722, when Mr. Sitwell and Mr. John Smith were sent to London 'to sollicit the Bill on behalfe of the Town'. After a long struggle, Parliament passed the Bill in May 1726; Mr. Smith as the representative of the Cutlers' Company was met at Derby on his return from London 'by a large party of gentlemen from Sheffield, and made a sort of triumphal entry into the town', the occasion being celebrated by a feast at Cutlers' Hall.

Another great public event at Sheffield during this period was the completion in 1721 of the new church known as St. Paul's. In the arrangements made for the foundation Mr. Hurt was much interested. 'Jonathan Hurt and Cornelius Dale, gentlemen' are the last-named of the principal inhabitants of Sheffield to whom on the 2nd October 1719, 'William Archbishop of York, Primate of England and Metropolitane', granted a licence for building (9). The first stone was laid in May 1720, and a year later the church was so far completed as to be ready for service, but a dispute had arisen as to the right of presentation, and the scandalous quarrel continued until 1740, when it was terminated by an Act of Parliament. Mr. John Downes, the first minister, was the husband of Mrs. Hurt's friend, Anne Balguy.

In a little paper book, very decayed, which the present writer had an opportunity of seeing a year or two after the death of Dr. Jackson, Mr. Hurt's signature is attached to several accounts. This is entitled *The Book of the Trustees of the New Church*, and shows that he was one of the number, that he subscribed £5 himself in 1720, collected subscriptions from others including £5 5s. od. from George Sitwell of Renishaw, and visited Wakefield in 1720 on business connected with the Trust.

He was also a trustee of the Charity School.* In Francis Sitwell's notebook of 1731, he is several times mentioned. He advances money to Mrs. Sitwell, and borrows on occasion from her son. It may perhaps have been for him that Dr. Short prescribed a course of ass's milk, a remedy often

* See in the Sheffield Court rolls a surrender, dated 24 April 1727, from John Reresby to him and others, 'for the good and use of the Charity School at Sheffield'.

recommended at that time for a persistent cough or, as in the case of Jane Sacheverell, for a weak digestion. The animal was put out in a close at the Bridgehouses; in July 1731 six shillings are paid to 'Bessy, for milking the ass', and in November 3s. 6d. to Widow Wostenholme 'in full for milking the ass, 7 weeks'. In December Mr. Hurt died; he was buried in the chancel of the parish church in a vault bought from his relative Joshua Laughton* of Brinkcliffe Edge, Esquire, whose wife had been buried there in 1703. A mourning ring formerly at Renishaw had the inscription: '28 Dec. 1731: *Jonathan Hurt, aged 41*'. By his Will, dated 6 November in that year, he left to his wife with remainder to his son the house in the High Street wherein he then dwelt, all his lands tenements messuages and hereditaments in Rotherham, and all his right in a parcel of land called the Copleys in Masper, together with the residue of his personal estate. To his son he gave a wood called the Boyd Royd in the parish of Wath; to his daughter, his gold watch, silver cup and porringer, and £300 in money. The inventory, amounting to £1,181 19s. 5d., gives the furniture of the hall, parlour, dining-room, green red and yellow chambers, chamber over the old building, kitchen chamber and garret. Soon after his death his widow, letting the house in High Street† to John Dale, with her stepdaughter and infant son came to live with her mother, Mrs. Sitwell.

* Joshua was brother to Benjamin, the 'Cuzen Laughton' mentioned in Mrs. Hurt's Will of 1709.

† Vincent Eyre, the Duke of Norfolk's principal agent, was lodging there with John Dale in 1734.

CHAPTER XV

SHEFFIELD IN 1730-40

THE notebooks of Francis Sitwell of Sheffield, covering the years 1730/1, 1733, 1736, 1737, and 1739, have furnished the material for the chapter which follows. Four of these pretty little volumes are bound in green vellum, one is in black leather bordered with gold; two contain London almanacs engraved with a view of the City or figures of the Four Seasons, and two have the date printed in gold upon the front. Francis, the owner and annotator, born in 1694, was the eldest son of William Sitwell of Sheffield by his wife Mary Reresby, and grandson of Francis Sitwell of Reni-

*your ever obliged servt
of John M. Sitwell*

Autograph of Mary Sitwell

shaw by Catherine Sacheverell; as Hunter says, he 'practised the law many years at Sheffield as an attorney, but retired to London in the latter part of his life, and when he died unmarried left above £30,000 to the Renishaw family'. He was buried at Eckington on the 4th July 1741.

This younger branch of the family had long been settled in Sheffield, where in 1688 William Sitwell was acting as legal adviser to the Town Trustees. His house, with garden and garden-house attached to it, seems to have stood close to the picturesque Lady's Bridge,* the ruins of the Castle, and the Bowling Green, then the social centre of the town. By this time the chapel at the Bridgefoot had been converted into an almshouse; tilting at the quintain and shooting at

* In 1697, a rood of land at Lady's Bridge, in Mr. Sitwell's occupation, was proposed to be taken for the purpose of providing new waterworks for the town. *Hallamshire*, p. 159.

the butts were no longer practised upon the level known as Sembly Green, but the latter was still the most important open space in Sheffield, being used for various sports and for the yearly muster of freeholders with horse and armour. An oval tobacco-box of silver with William's arms and

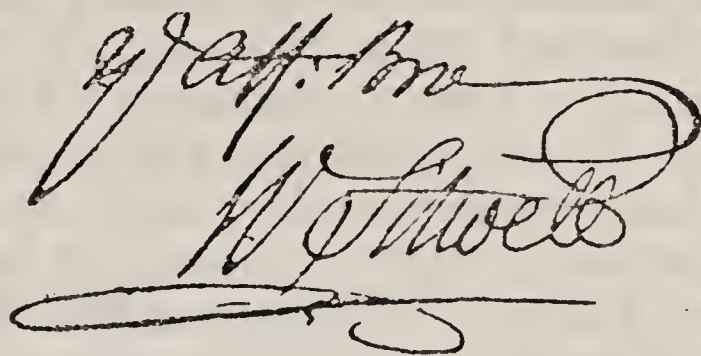


Silver tobacco box, 1684

initials engraved upon it and the date-mark of 1684 has been preserved; likewise a portrait of his wife, so well painted that it might be taken for the work of Hogarth. He is often mentioned in the Renishaw correspondence; borrows books from the library, and in 1703 passes on 'Spencer's ffairy Queen' to his mother, who was then residing at Derby. He died on the 25th June of that year, during a visit to his sister, Mrs. Allestry of Alvaston. A brass on the chancel wall in Alvaston church has the following inscription: 'Near this place lies the Body of William Sitwell, Gent., whose Mother was Grandaughter to William Sachivarell of Barton, Esq., and Tabitha his Wife, the only Daughter and Heiress of Mr. James Spencer and Borne in this Towne of

Alvaston. He died the 25 of June, 1703, Aged 40 years, and left Issue by Mary his Wife 3 Sonnes and 2 Daughters.'

At Lichfield there is a small fragment of a bond and inventory bearing his name with the date 1703, and endorsed 'T' for *Testamentum*. It is signed by his uncle, William Sitwell of London, who engages as guardian of the children to bring them up 'with meat, drink, lodgings, and apparel meet' during their minority. The inventory mentions the following rooms in the Sheffield house: 'the best chamber, Green chamber, passage chamber, Mr. Revell's chamber,



From a letter of 22 February, 1730/1.

White chamber, two bed chambers, Nursery, . . . chamber, Richard Turner's chamber, the chamber adjoining, the Malt chamber, the Garden house, the Maids chamber, the Larder, the Apple chamber, the Ale cellar, the smaller cellar'. 'Mr. Revell' is his cousin John Revell of Ogston, who, as appears by the witnessing of several deeds, was staying there on the 17th November 1697. Another frequent guest was his brother-in-law, Francis Reresby of Ecclesfield, who was with him at Sheffield on the 20th March and 3rd October 1701.

His widow and elder daughter continued to live at the house in Sheffield, where Mrs. Hurt joined them in 1731, with her infant son, then three years old, and her stepdaughter, aged ten or eleven. Mrs. Sitwell, in addition to her own fortune, that of her late husband, and a fourth share of the landed and personal estate of her grandfather, Thomas Wilson of Oughtibridge Hall, had an annuity of £80 out of the Renishaw estate, increased to £90 by the Will of her brother-in-law, George Sitwell, in 1723. The latter accounted also, as trustee, for £23 *per annum*, receivable from

a small estate at Dore, which had been bequeathed to William Sitwell's children by their grandmother, Katherine Sacheverell; for £5 4s. od., the rent of certain lands at Little Over; and for the interest of £150 left by Mrs. Sitwell in his hands. Her son, Francis, paid her £80 a year, and this sum was increased to £100 upon his death in 1741. Her two daughters, Mary Sitwell and Catherine Hurt, had a share in the personal estate of their great-grandfather, Francis Mansfield of Hugglescoate Grange, together with the interest upon £300, and upon a sum of £1,000 left them by their uncle, Francis Sitwell of London, in 1733. Mrs. Hurt had also the proceeds of her husband's small landed estate, and of his personalty, valued at £1,181; an annuity of £50, left her by her brother Francis, 'so long as she continues single and lives with my mother', and two shares in the River Don Navigation Company, producing about £60 a year, which together with the sum of £350 were in lieu of the £1,000 mentioned above. Upon the death of her sister in 1733, the fortune of the latter passed to her. It is impossible to form an exact estimate of income, but Mrs. Sitwell and her daughter must have had between them at least six or seven hundred a year. Mary Hurt, the step-daughter, was not forgotten by her relatives the Stathams, and William Statham of Sheffield Park by his Will dated 17 December 1734 made arrangements that if Mrs. Hurt died, Mary might come to live with his widow or daughter. She preferred however to remain where she was, and the friendship between the two families continued long after her death. William Sitwell of London in 1773 left to 'Mrs. Smilter, that was the daughter of Mr. Statham', £100, £100 each to two of the Shirecliffes, and to his cousin Eccles (Elizabeth Statham) an annuity of £100, with £100 to each of her daughters.

This William, the second son of William Sitwell of Sheffield, was a merchant in the City, where he made what was for those days a great fortune, the value of his possessions (including the Renishaw estate to which he had succeeded) being estimated after his death at £400,000 or £500,000. In 1715 he is described as 'of Foster Lane, in the parish of

St. Leonard's'; he was admitted to the livery of the Cutlers' Company on the 8th April 1723, elected Master in 1755, and in the same year paid a fine of £500 to avoid serving as Sheriff of London. A letter of 12 July 1728 is addressed 'To Francis Sitwell, Esq're, Leave it with Messrs. Parkin* & Sitwell at the White Lyon in Foster Lane, London'. The firm was known as 'Parkin & Sitwell' until 1744, then as 'Sitwell, Tappenden and Hanby'. In Mr. Jackson's *Chronological Antiquities*, published in 1752, 'William Sitwell Esq; Merchant in London', appears as having subscribed for '4 copies, one of them Large Paper', and the Directories of 1763-77 give his London address: 'William Sitwell, Esq; 6 Dyer's Court, Aldermanbury'. In 1753 he succeeded to Renishaw, and he was appointed a Justice of the Peace on the 13th July 1756 and a Deputy Lieutenant in 1762. The inclination of his mind, however, led him to avoid public life and to occupy himself with charitable and philanthropic work. In September 1757, he was elected honorary Auditor General of the royal hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlehem, in 1755 he became a Governor of St. Bartholomew's, in 1755 of Christ's. He lived to be nearly eighty, and in his old age, when his health was failing, Renishaw was let for a year or two to Mr. and Mrs. Clay of Bridgehouses at a rent of £100. Etherington's *York Chronicle* of the 3rd May 1776, has the following notice of his funeral: '*A few days ago the remains of William Sitwell Esq; of Dyer's Court Aldermanbury, London, were interred in great funeral pomp in the family vault in Derbyshire. Mr. Sitwell is said to have died worth 400,000 l. He had 50,000 l. in an iron chest when he died.*' Other notices in the London papers state that he was reputed to be one of the richest men in the City of London, and that some people rated his possessions at £500,000. He left great sums to various charities.

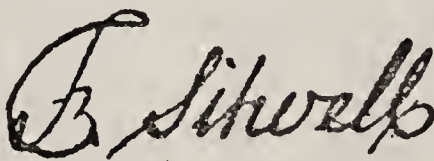
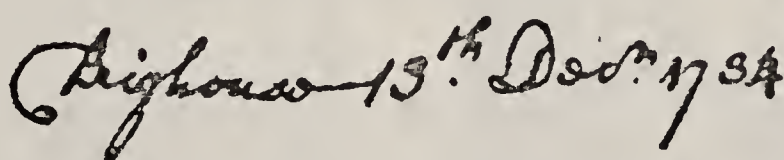
As a fortune of £400,000 or £500,000 must then have

* 'Parkin' is of course the William Parkin whose great possessions passed to Madam Parkin of Ravenfield Hall, and afterwards founded the family of Bosville of Ravenfield.

By Will dated 31 December 1746, he left £200 to 'Mr. William Sitwell of London, Merchant, my late Partner', appointing the latter and Elizabeth Parkin Executors. William acted also as Executor of Elizabeth's Will, dated 18 January 1763.

been as rare and in purchasing power as effective as one of three or four millions to-day, it is interesting to observe how such an accumulation was heaped up. The great wealth of Robert Sytwell of Staveley had been dissipated after his death in 1599, part passing to his widow and much of the rest being wasted in quite a number of suits in Chancery and the Exchequer*; his cousins and heirs-at-law—the phrase seems appropriate—were successful in recovering the landed estates, and managed to retrieve the position by founding forges and furnaces upon their property in Derbyshire. Four younger sons made fortunes as merchants in Spain, Aleppo or the Indies, William Sitwell himself in London, and his brother as a lawyer at Sheffield; of these six, four having no children of their own left their money to their kinsmen at Renishaw. William Sitwell gave £10,000 to his cousin Samuel Phipps, and the latter, who was a solicitor in great practice in London, bequeathed the whole of his fortune to Francis Hurt Sitwell. Thus, before the end of the eighteenth century, three younger branches of the family as well as the main stem had been well provided for, namely the Sitwells of Stainsby House in Derbyshire, Barmoor Castle in Northumberland, and Ferney Hall in Shropshire.

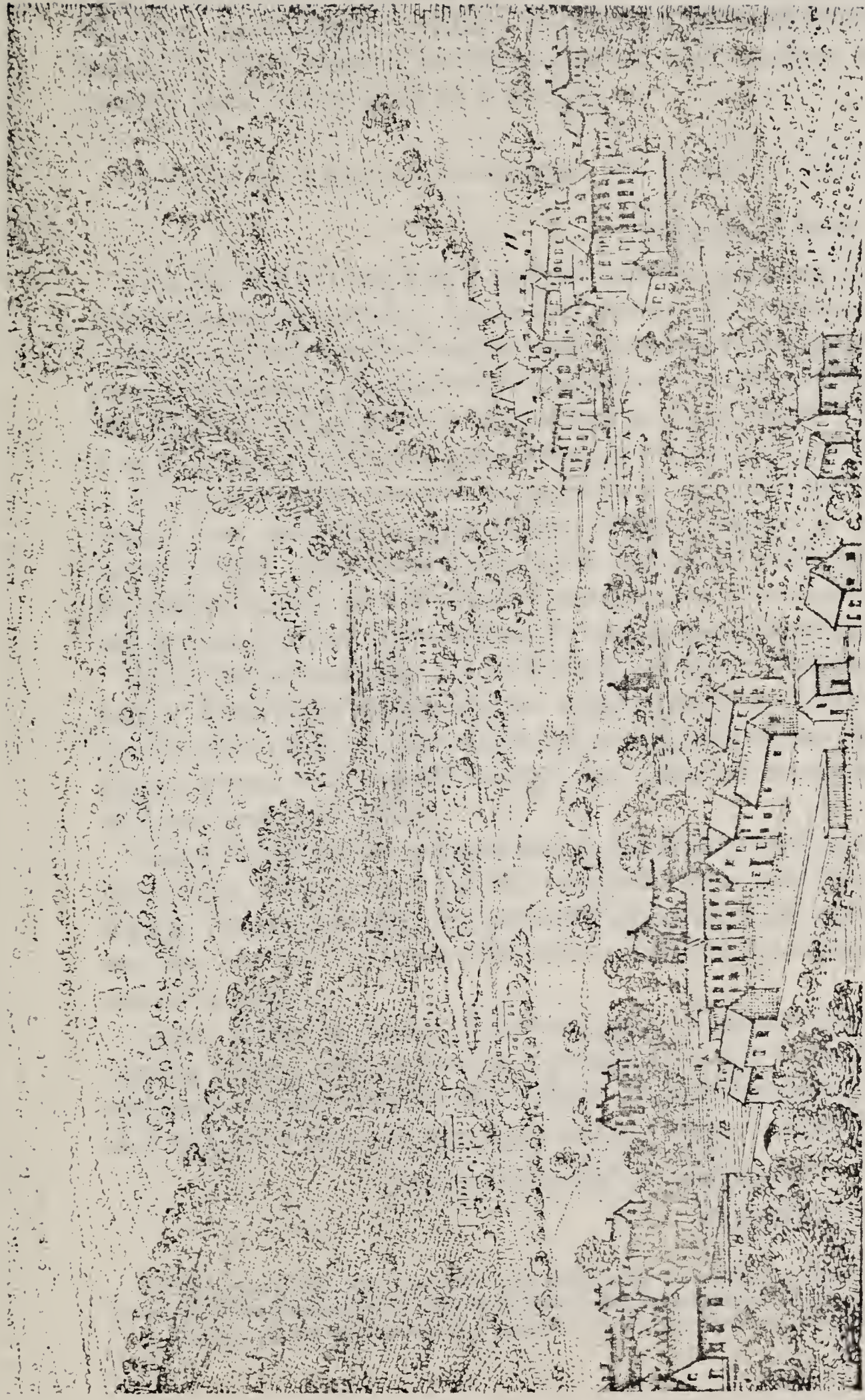
Francis Sitwell, the owner of the notebooks, born as we

Autograph of Francis Sitwell, of Sheffield

have seen in 1694 and brought up to the profession of the law, was William's eldest brother. Many of his letters have

* There are at least forty-five suits in the Chancery and Exchequer during the reign of Elizabeth in which one of the Sitwells was plaintiff or defendant, and the Docquet rolls, which form an index to the *Coram Rege* and *De Banco* rolls, give references to ninety more.



THE EAST PROSPECT OF SHEFFIELD, 1745

- 8. Castle Hill bowling-green
- 9. Lady's Bridge
- 10. River Don
- 11. Bridge Houses

(from Lansdowne MS. 914)

been preserved at Renishaw, and as a letter always furnishes the best introduction when a personal interview is impossible, we will choose as characteristic one written to his cousin Jane Sacheverell in London.

FRANCIS SITWELL OF SHEFFIELD TO JANE SACHEVERELL

Sheffield, August 1735.

I doe now think it long since I saw you, but hope to give my selfe that satisfaction this next spring. My health, I thank God, is tolerable, and yet I doubt it will be late before I can get away. I can't forbear therefore in the mean time enquireing after your welfare, because the last account I had from Mr. Hayford told me you were not soe well as I cou'd wish; I hope for a better account by this time, which wou'd give me noe little satisfacion.

*The various weather we have here affects us crazy folks pritty much, but we must endeavour to grinn it away in hopes sometime of a settled warmer season. Poor Dame Simpson has been almost within an inch of her life; she is now free from pain and recovering, but is weak and shock'd and very low spiritted. Her daughter J. Simpson has a thumping Girle.**

Mrs. Fairfax and Jenny are at the Bath, and Squire William and his lady at York, where abundance of our neighbouring gentry have took into their heads to rendezvous this winter, where they find good and cheap provisions, operas, plays, musick meetings, and I know not what, even to vye with your great metropolis.

George Bradshaw† at last yeild over to fate about a week agoe, tho his constitution laboured hard and has struggled thro a good deal of fast liveing. He has dyed very rich, and left I believe all to his wife for life, and then, as to his real estate, to his nephew Galliard, a young lawyer who lives at Edmuntton.

Cozen Elizabeth Sitwell I find now seems in earnest about house-keeping, haveing lately desired me to furnish her a sett or two of knives and forks from this Town for that purpose. I hope Mrs. Mawson continues in health, which that you may regain and long enjoy is the hearty wish of

Your most faithful & affect serv't

FRANCIS SITWELL.

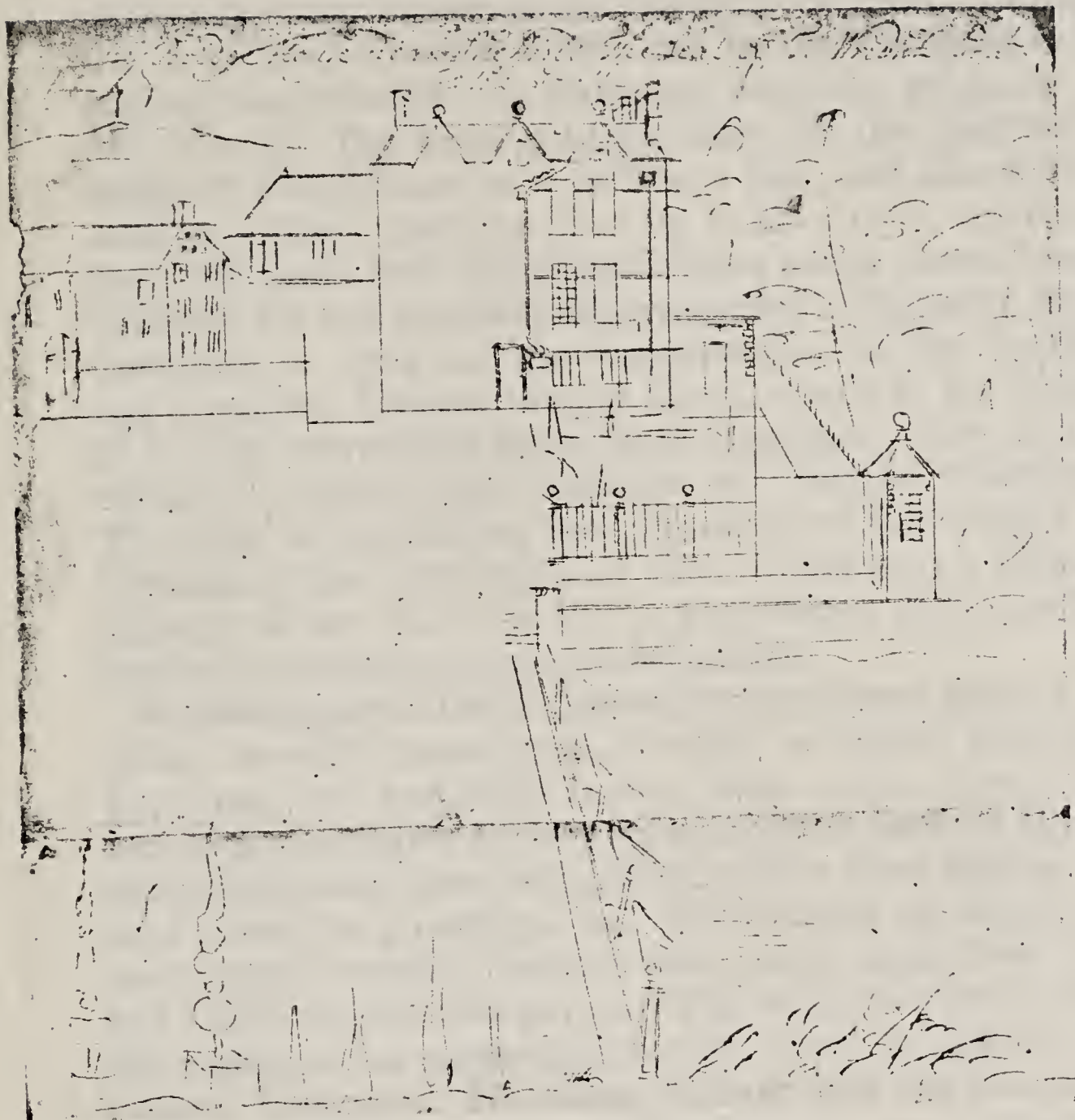
* This child eventually married Lord Bradford. Mrs. Fairfax and Jenny were sisters of John Simpson, and 'Squire William' was his brother.

† The last of the Bradshaws of Bradshaw. His sister and heir married Mr. Galliard.

A list of clothes in 1731 brings Mr. Sitwell vividly before us in his light bob wig, 'Blew every day Coate with Silver Buttons', black waistcoat and breeches, writing at one of the tables covered with green baize in his chamber at Bridgehouse,* the walls hung round with painted heads of Newton, Lock, Boyle, and Pope, being copies made by young Fenton of Sheffield. Here and at Romeley Hall he was living with his legal partner, Tom Wright the town clerk, a friend for whom in his Will he expresses a 'great regard'. The former place, which stood just across the wooden bridge from Sheffield, is shown in a drawing of 1723 preserved amongst the Lansdowne manuscripts† and in Buck's 'East Prospect of Sheffield', engraved in 1745. The earlier view is from the south, but the house shown as Mr. Wright's is clearly identified by the garden pavilion with that on the right of Buck's view, though in the latter the elevation has been simplified for artistic effect. The room on the ground floor with mullioned windows was Mr. Sitwell's study: here in 1733 the casements were being replaced by sashes. Between the two dates considerable alterations had been made. The older lay-out with yew obelisks amongst the flowers had been abandoned in favour of plainer grass-plots, and a terrace walk, walled-in, with a garden-house at the west end thereof, had been constructed looking down the river towards Sheffield. A smaller bridge, known to the notebooks as 'Mr. Wright's bridge', had been thrown across the Don, probably that shown in early plans of Sheffield as communicating with a garden on the opposite bank. Two

* According to Leader, this was the old house of the Clays, facing the iron bridge, known in its latter days as the 'Union Inn', and destroyed when the railway was made. But this seems to be a mistake. In Lansdowne MS. 914, a collection of drawings of seats in Yorkshire made in 1723, 'Mr. Clay's New House at Sheffield' follows next after 'Bridge House near Sheffield, the seat of T. Wright, Gent.' By an indenture dated 16 September 1742, Edward Duke of Norfolk grants to the Rev. Thomas Wright of Bridgehouses, a piece of land, part waste part pasture, lately walled-in with brick walls at the West end and North side at the charge of Thomas Wright, gentleman, deceased, and levelled laid and added to the garden Terras walk or grass plot of the said Thomas Wright of Bridgehouses, lying to the side of and open to the river Dunn, to enlarge or extend the said garden grass plot or Terras walk more in length to the West, and at the West end whereof the said Thomas Wright had built a Garden or Summer-house. The term 99 years, rent 7s. 6d.

† B.M. Lansdowne MS. 914, fo. 73.



BRIDGE HOUSE NEAR SHEFFIELD, 1723

closes adjoining, known as the Hackinwells and containing 6 A. 2 R. 14 P., bounded on the east by the Turnpike road leading from Sheffield to Barnsley, were the property of Mr. Sitwell. The latter paid his share of the gardener's wages at Bridgehouse at a shilling a day, and also rented another garden, which he gave up in May 1736, receiving from Mr. John Bell 'three guineas and half a dozen handkerchiefs for the goodwill of my garden'. Romeley Hall, described in 1734 as 'the Country-seat of the worthy and ingenious Thomas Wright Esq:', stands in the Parish of Clown, above five miles from Renishaw; later in the century it became the residence of Thomas Gisborne, 'Physician to his Majesty' and President of the College of Physicians, who died there in 1806. Here also a terrace, running along the edge of a picturesque little ravine, formed a charming feature of the garden.

A loose paper in the pocket of the 1731 book gives a list of Mr. Sitwell's investments, showing an annual return of £771 10s. 0d., but India bonds, Bank stock, South Sea annuities, and shares in the river navigation have no figures set against them; these being filled in from other entries, the total comes to £1,098 3s. 0d. The interest on loans and mortgages is usually four *per cent.*, never more than four and a half; India bonds pay six. This total does not include the profits of his profession, nor his salary as clerk to the Cutlers' Company. He seems to have had the best legal practice within thirty miles of Sheffield, his most important clients being the Duke of Leeds, whose 'birthday' he attends in 1736; the Duke of Norfolk, upon whom he often waits at Worksop Manor; Lord Malton, Lady Hewett, Mr. Foljambe of Aldwark, Mr. Edmunds of Worsbrough, Samuel Shore of Meersbrook, and Strelley Pegge of Beauchief Abbey. A memorandum of March 1730 mention ten cases in which he was engaged that term, including 'Sacheverell's Case'; in 1730 he is acting in 'Offley Dr. & Scroop', and 'Osborn & alii v. Poole & alios', in 1733 for Sir John Stat-ham against Milnes, in 1737 for Foljambe v. Lord Palmerston. Other profits were made by speculating in various articles of commerce, such as sugar, indigo, and diamonds.

Thus in 1733 he has £860 in indigo * at Bristol and £1,200 in diamonds, buyers for both being found within the year. A small but amusing transaction was his purchase for £5 5s. *od.* in 1736-7 of an old mourning coach from the Duke of Norfolk; this he sold two years later to John Dale the mercer for ten guineas.

Having so many people's affairs to attend to, he was obliged to lead a very strenuous life, attending the term in London or the assizes at Derby, sitting on commissions at Dronfield or Doncaster, holding the manor-courts at Eckington, Bolsover, Morton, Morley, Maltby and Austerfield, travelling on business affairs to Doncaster, Wakefield, Barnsley, York, Chesterfield, Clown, or Nottingham. But he was able also to take 'rambles' for pleasure to Buxton, Scarborough, Hull, or Manchester; meets his brother at Birmingham and goes on with him and Mr. Parkin to Ware and Cambridge; visits Dudley, or Manchester and Buxton, or York Scarborough and Hull, in the company of Mr. Shore; accompanies Joseph Broadbent to Blyth Hodgseck and Worksop, rides with Dr. Short by Nottingham to Holt in Leicestershire, or spends a couple of days at Renishaw with his cousin. On these excursions he usually pays most or all of the expenses; other friends who accompany him are Vincent Eyre, John Fell, Mr. Hemingway, and a Mr. Jackson. Sometimes, when he can enjoy a little leisure at Bridgehouses, Francis Sitwell of Renishaw spends three days with him, the Simpsons of Babworth come for a couple of nights, his friend Samuel Shore pays him a brief visit, Dr. Shaw of Worksop is there for a day, or some client such as Strelley Pegge is entertained for a night or two.

At Bridgehouses and Romeley Mrs. Wright kept house for the two partners.

	£	s.	d.
May, 1731. Old Mrs. Wright, Mr. Wright's aunt, and I accounted. I left her, when I went from home in Nov'r last for London	1	7	0
I paid her son John in Town	1	0	0
	<hr/>		
	2	7	0

* 'Net weight 580r', whatever that may mean.

	£	s.	d.
She brought me in a Bill of £1 11s. 2d. for the charges of house-keeping after I went, w'ch Mr. Wright should pay, I having nothing to doe with it.	1	11	2
However, deduct that and she paid me	0	15	10

The household at Bridgehouses baked its own bread and brewed its own beer. Wheat and blend corn were bought at about 8s. the load, malt at £1 5s. 0d. the quarter. Wool for blankets was spun, woven, and scoured by a woman at Sheffield. Mr. Sitwell kept a man in livery, whose wages were £7 7s. 0d. a year, but the staff of servants was not a large one, consisting of four men and three maids at Bridgehouses with a maid at Romeley

	£	s.	d.
5 January, 1736. Gave the maids, the two Bettys, a New Year's Guift, 5s. each, the kitchen maid 2s. 6d.;			
John, Rit., J. Jackson, and my man 2s. 6d. each, 10s.	1	2	6
I had given the maid at Romeley	0	2	6

The cost of provisions was small, but many delicacies—canisters of tea, coffee and chocolate, bottles of anchovies, capers, and olives—were ordered from London. Oysters came down three barrels at a time, and cost five shillings the barrel with two more to the carrier. Tea at 16s. 9d. the pound seems extravagantly dear when compared with coffee at 4s. 3d. In 1739, £1 13s. 6d. is paid to L. Nevile of London for 'two pounds tea', and £1 19s. 6d. to Mr. Wyld for 'three pound more tea'. At Renishaw in 1732 tea had been procured from Sheffield at 16s. and coffee at 6s. On one occasion Mr. Sitwell buys from the Master Cutler venison for Bridgehouse to the value of 5s. Potted woodcock seems to have been much appreciated. Jane Sacheverell in three letters written from London thanks him for presents of pots of woodcock; in 1733, 17s. 6d. is paid to Mr. Winder of Preston for a pot sent to her during Mr. Sitwell's stay in town the previous winter, and in November of the same year there is a consignment of woodcocks to his brother. In November 1737, £1 4s. 3d. is paid to Mr. Touchet of Manchester for a pot of woodcocks he ordered from Armskirk. There were three 'Sheffield carriers' carry-

ing goods between Sheffield and London at 1s. 2d. the stone. This, in 1704, had been the charge for conveying furniture from London to Renishaw. Goods could also be forwarded to Sheffield by sea and river. In July 1739, there is an entry, 'pd. the navigators *per* Marshal in full freight of the 2 hampers etc. from London, o 13s. 8d.', and in the index this payment is referred to under the head of 'Navigation farmers'.

Wine was procured from London occasionally, but more commonly was imported by way of Hull. In April 1731, 5s. 6d. is paid 'for the freight of my half hogshead botled of wine from London last August', and 11s. 'for my Cos. Sitwell's two half hogsheads'. In November 1731, Francis pays Mr. Wilberforce of Hull £49, 'for the hogshead of mountain wine and the pipe of red port I bought of him'. Half is taken by Mr. Wright, who pays fifteen guineas 'towards his wine', and there is a note that the latter had thirty-eight gallons, 'eight more than his share'. In March 1736, £40 odd is paid Mr. Mills for wine, meaning of course port, and in May £39 17s. 3d. to the same person 'in full for his wine, bottles, and Brandy'. In January 1737, another pipe of port is bought from Mr. Sykes for £30, half of it going to Renishaw; this must have been almost consumed by February 1739, when 'Coz. Sitwell' pays the freight of a hogshead and a barrel from York. In January 1739 another hogshead had come to Sheffield from Hull by the navigation.

Other wines are mentioned occasionally. In April 1737, £3 15s. 8d. is paid for a chest of Florence wine sent to Renishaw. Francis Sitwell of Sheffield orders Madeira for his uncle in London, and when in Town drinks 'ffrench wine from St. James' at £1 16s. 0d. the dozen. For use at Romeley French wine was sometimes bought at Norton, coming with carriage and bottles to £2 2s. 0d. Beer was brewed at Bridgehouse, but on one occasion (June 1737) a hamper of beer is sent there from Nottingham, where it must have been much superior to the local product to be worth carrying so far. Cowslip wine, to be offered to guests in the garden-house on summer afternoons, was made by Mrs.

Wright on rather a large scale, 16s. 6d. being paid for 'Sugars Cowslips and Lemons for the wine' in May 1737, with 5s. 6d. more 'for the other lemons and cowslips'. Dr. Short in his *History of Mineral Waters* expresses an unfavourable opinion of that beverage, but as port supplied him with his livelihood and his patients with their illnesses, one can hardly be surprised at his contempt for cowslips. In the upper and middle classes the attempt to drink port regularly must have shortened life on the average by at least five years.

Tobacco could be found in Sheffield,* but was more usually obtained from London, where 10s. is the price of six pounds in June 1733, 17s. 4d. of ten pounds in March 1736. Long clay pipes at half a crown the gross were procured from 'Mr. Wyld of Rotherham, the pipe maker', snuff at 2s. 6d. was bought locally from a pedlar or 'Scotchman'.

Mr. Sitwell's washing at Sheffield cost him £4 6s. 0d. for a little more than a twelvemonth. Twenty shillings were paid every year on the occasion of the Cutlers' feast to his barber for shaving.

	£	s.	d.
10 November, 1733. Paid Hives the Barber in full for work done at my wiggs to this day, and for a year's shaving due at Cutlers' feast day last at 20s. He finds powder		1	13 6

Wigs were generally procured from London or York, but two guineas are paid to Hives for a 'new light Bobb Wigg' in 1733, and £3 5s. 5d. for two such wigs in 1737. 'Wharam Hives, the Sheffield Wigmaker', supplied Mr. Sitwell of Renishaw also at the same rate; the latter gives as much as £4 12s. 6d. to Mr. Brooks of Sheffield for a wig in 1729, and £6 6s. 0d. to Mr. Bowen for a long wig in 1730.

The owner of the notebooks obtained most of his clothes from London, where in 1731 he pays 'Mason my Taylor' £15 10s. 0d., with a shilling for his men and an additional £6 for 'my new Coat & Britches'. A list of his wardrobe

* 5 December, 1733. 'Paid widow Hoyland for a pd. Tobaccocoe she sd. I owed her for, 2s. 0d.'

entered upon the last page of his pocket-book for that year may perhaps be worth quoting in full:

21 April 1731.

In weare.

2 Blew Cloaks.	A white coate.
An horsman's Coate.	A new white coate & Britches.
A Blew Jocky rideing Coate.	2 Black Wastcoates.
A Rugg one	3 pair Black Britches.
A Blew every day Coate w'th	A Linnen wastcoate.
Silver Butt'ns.	A Camlett hair frock.
	A red wastcoate.

That may be worn, but not used.

A white Coate.	Red one d'o.
2 Black wastcoates.	Camlett surtouts.

Old Cloaths: these not to be woare again.

A Blew plush Coat & Britches.	3 Black wastcoates.
2 pair red rug wastcoates.	One white Cloath wastcoate.
2 pair d'o Britches.	2 pair d'o Britches.
3 pair Black Britches.	An old Camlett surtout.

Good tailors could be found also at Sheffield, Elias Wordsworth or Burgin being able to satisfy the requirements of master as well as man.

	£	s.	d.
10 March 1737. Pd. Burgin the Taylor for my frock and my man's livery and frock, as by rec. in full .	1	13	6
3 November 1739. Pd. the taylor for his & Mr. Wordsworth's bill for my man's two ffrocks . . .	0	12	0
25 October 1737. Pd. Mr. Wordsworth for the Dark Jack coat in full	4	11	9

Handkerchiefs were bought in London at 3s. each, stocks at £1 5s. 0d. for half a dozen, shirts at £6 the dozen. There was at Sheffield a linendraper who could ruffle calico shirts.

	£	s.	d.
29 May 1736. Pd. Mr. Bell in full for Cambrick, &c., for ruffling the Callicoe shirts, as by his Bill .	0	14	0
Pd. the girle for setting on & makeing the 6 ruffles, 3s. pro work and two days, 1s.;		4	0
March 1737. Pd. Mr. Bell for the plad for the night gown, 8 yds. at 3s. 9d.	1	10	0

Bridgehouse was regularly supplied with newspapers from London. In 1736, £3 13s. 8d. is paid to 'Mr. Green the News man of London, for news sent Mr. Wright and me the last year, as by his Bill'. The principal item will have been the *Evening Post*, which was taken by the Sheffield Town Trustees in 1740 and at Renishaw in 1728-40. There seems to have been a circulating library at Sheffield—

	£	s.	d.
8 June, 1737. Paid Gill, the treasurer of the Society			
for reading books, two years Subscription	0	10	0

—and there was of course a first-rate bookseller. Nevill Simmons, probably a son of Nevill the London bookseller and grandson of the Samuel who brought out Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1), had settled in Sheffield towards the close of the seventeenth century. He published there a number of sermons and other books bearing upon religion, and in 1692 issued a printed catalogue, of which a copy may be seen in the Jackson collection. The title is as follows:

A catalogue of Excellent English and Latin Books on most subjects, &c., which will be exposed to sale by way of auction on Wednesday, the 19th of October 1692 at the Rose & Crown in Sheffield, &c., Catalogues are distributed gratis by Nevil Simmons, Bookseller in Sheffield.

The collection comprises 1,435 lots, and was divided into four sections:

I. Folio, English	150 lots.
II. Folio, Latin	78 „
III. Quarto, English and Latin	549 „
IV. Octavo, Eng. Latin	658 „

Two months later, Simmons carried out a similar auction at Leeds, at which Thoresby the antiquary bought the *Scala Mundi*, an historical manuscript which he greatly valued. In returning home he had the company of 'Mr. Simmons, the ingenious auctioneer'. There was another auction at Leeds in 1695. Simmons remained in business at Sheffield until about 1719, when he was succeeded by Samuel Simmons, from whom Mr. Sitwell makes several purchases of books in 1737-9.

	£	s.	d.
February 12, 1737. Pd. Sam: Simmons his Bill for Books binding &c.	2	10	6
December 14. Pd. Sam'l Simmons in full of all acc'ts to this day	3	13	3
January 2, 1739. Pd. Sam'l Simmons in full of all acc'ts to this day, in wch. was included Chambers dict.	6	1	7

In the early years of the eighteenth century two other booksellers were to be found at Sheffield. Joseph Turner published *A Collection of Choir Psalm tunes* in 1715, and Richard Smith of Angel Street, as his rhyming headstone in the churchyard informs us, set up in the same business about 1730:

*At twenty-five laid dancing down
To be a book seller in this town,
Where I continued without strife,
Till death deprived me of this life.*

More expensive books for the little library in the 'closet or cupboard' out of the chamber at Bridgehouse, were procured from London. In January 1731, seven shillings are paid to 'Clay the bookseller in London for six plays & reading the Roman history'. The reading leads, as one might have expected, to the purchase of the said history in three volumes for £4 2s. 0d.; in 1739, Pope's *Homer* is taken at the price of £5 12s. 0d., other additions include Terence in three volumes and Rollin in four. Curl, who is also referred to in the notebooks, is a London bookseller; Haxby may be of Sheffield; in 1739 £7 16s. 0d. is paid to 'Mr. Fox the Bookseller at Derby for Books & prints had of him'; in the same year £1 7s. 6d. at Derby for 'a set of Bacon', and 4s. 6d. for Voltaire's *Newton*.

Mr. Sitwell, as became an admirer of Newton, whose portrait adorned his study and under whom his cousin at Renishaw had studied astronomy in 1699, took an interest in the latest scientific inventions.

	£	s.	d.
London, 1 May 1736. Paid Mr. Scarlet for the Microscope 3 Gs., the Camara Obscura 4 Gs. ½, the Convex glass £1 5s., the Prism 5s., the Perspective 5s.	9	12	6½

Sheffield was not without a painter. 'Tim Fenton', otherwise referred to in the notebooks as 'Mr. Fenton' or 'young Fenton the painter', a son of William Fenton of the Bank Top family, had been a student in the Temple (2), but was ambitious to be an artist. In 1730, Francis Sitwell pays him a fee for assistance in searching the Docket roll in London, and joins him at Epsom. In August of the following year they ride down together to Chelmsford. In 1736 and 1737, he is working in Sheffield as a copyist.

	£	s.	d.
December 4, 1736. Lay at Geo. Phipps, and gave my Coz. John Reresby's serv't there	0	10	6
December 6. Pd. young Fenton the Painter for Coppeing Ld. Bacon's head, and the 5 other heads of my mother's family which I made her a present of, at $\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea each	3	3	0
24 Jan'y 1737. Pd. young Fenton the Painter for the 4 heads he Coppyed for me, viz. Newton, Locke, Boyle and Pope. I gave him besides a picture of Hogarth's Before & After, cost 5s.	3	3	0

In 1739 Fenton undertook a portrait of Francis Sitwell of Renishaw. This may be a canvas now put away in the lumber-room, which bears an unpleasing likeness to a later portrait of the same person by Philips. There is reason to fear that Fenton was not successful in the career he had chosen, as four years later we find that he was employed to paint the garrets at Renishaw at sixpence a yard.*

	£	s.	d.
1738, March 29. Paid Mr. Fenton for cleaning and varnishing sixteen pictures, 1s. each. And for a Watch key & Glass, 2s.	0	18	0
1739, June 29. To Mr. Fenton for my Picture, four Guineas	4	4	0
1743, September 26. Then paid Mr. Fenton for painting the garret over the Pantry, 61 yards at 6 pence the yard	1	10	6
1748, November 21. To Mr. Fenton for painting the Little Parlour	2	4	0
1749, September 23. To Mr. Fenton for painting the Hall Chamber and Closets over it, and Chamber over Little Parlour, and varnishing Windows, doors &c.	17	0	0

* The entries quoted are from the account-book of Francis Sitwell of Renishaw

We hear again of Fenton in 1776, when Francis Hurt having succeeded his uncle, is bringing together his pictures 'from Mr. Fenton's and Grandmother's and Mr. Raynes' for removal to Renishaw.

Dr. Short, whose wife was one of the Parkyns of Mortomley, was the local physician. He published in 1734 *A History of Mineral Waters*, prefaced by a subscription list which includes Mr. Sitwell's name; in 1767, *A Comparative History of the Increase and Decrease of Mankind in England*, 'William Sitwell of London Esq.' and 'Francis Hurt Esq.' being subscribers. Dr. Bourne* of Chesterfield is also mentioned in the notebooks; Dr. Shaw, who apparently resided at Worksop, was brought in to prescribe for Mr. Sitwell's mother in 1736 and in the same year to attend his brother during an illness in London. To 'my friend Dr. Shaw', Mr. Sitwell bequeathes by Will a legacy of £20. Concerning Joseph Broadbent, who accompanies him, on the 7th and 8th September 1739 to Blyth Hodgseck and Worksop, we are told that he was the first to establish a foreign trade for Sheffield wares, and that his family mansion, standing near the Boys' Charity School, was the last house in Sheffield at which mourners were supplied with sack on the occasion of a funeral (3).

Benjamin Greaves, upon whom several bills are drawn in 1731, is described in a letter of 1734 as 'a Great Banker at Sheffield'.† It was Mr. Sitwell's practice to 'lend' Mr. Greaves any sums of money for which he had no immediate use, taking a promissory note for the amount payable on demand. Thus in 1731, £2,130 in all passed through the hands of the latter, in 1736 £900, in 1737 £800. A low rate of interest was allowed, namely in 1737 two and a half *per cent.* upon demand, four and a half when the period of notice was six months. Mr. Greaves' 'man, Lambert', was a confidential servant who could be trusted to carry bills and notes of considerable value. Cheques had not yet come into fashion, the older method of orders to pay being cus-

* See *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 347.

† See in the Scarborough Museum, *Original Documents relating to Yorkshire*. Vincent Eyre's letter is dated 20 December 1734.

tomary. Banknotes were sometimes used. Mr. Greaves as a rule repays loans in bills drawn by himself or by others.

Banker and client account at irregular intervals, the former's old notes being returned to him and a fresh note taken for the balance. In one of these accounts the interesting fact comes out that Mr. Greaves kept a mercer's shop in Sheffield.

31 March, 1731. Drew a Bill on my Bro. payable to Mr. Greaves on his order for 500^l vallue rec'd of him at 14 days rate as *per* advice. He then gave me his note for 1000^l payable on dem'd.

2 October, 1731. B. Greaves and I acc'ted, and he gave me Mr. Mawd of Wakefield's note endorsed by himself for *li*1042 17s. 6d., Mr. Stern's money, and I gave him in his former note of 890. He gave me his promissory Note dated this day for 117^l 2s. 6d., and I gave him in the two former notes his man had gave me for 140^{li}.

1737, 9 March. B. Greaves and I acc'ted, and he allow'd me 15^{li} for 10 months Int. of the 400^{li} he had of myne since April last, & I allow'd him 3 12s. 6d. for his Bill for an India wastcoat & my man's livery I had of him the other day, and he paid me in money £11 7s. 6d.

In 1739 Greaves's executors are mentioned, and Mr. Sitwell is banking with John Dale. There is no connecting link between the latter and Greaves, except that he also was a mercer, allowances being made to him on settlement for 'a piece of fine red rugg' or other 'things had out of his shop'. He tenanted Mrs. Hurt's house in the High Street, and is said to have accompanied Lord Holderness, the English ambassador to Venice (4). In 1739 various sums amounting to £940, are deposited with Dale; he allows £2 10s. 0d. per cent. upon money payable at demand, £4 10s. 0d. if subject to two months' notice.

A character which comes out strongly in the notebooks is what one may term legal caution. Even when paying a debt, Mr. Sitwell is careful to avoid acknowledging that it is owing, '*he says is due to him*', '*she says I had of her*', '*she says they laid out for me*', being the phrases usually employed. It is clear that no client had reason to fear that his case would be compromised by indiscreet admissions. A leaf at the end of the 1731 book quotes the well-known lines,

*Quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
Quid pure tranquillat; honos, an Dulce Lucellum?*

—but the cynical reflection is noted rather as an incentive to continued effort by one who feels the temptation to be idle, than as a principle governing his life. The writer was not extortionate in his legal charges. To his cousins, and they are many, no bill is sent in; he accepts whatever 'present' they are pleased to offer. In regard to other clients, 10s. 6d. is enough for a short deed, a guinea and expenses for a journey to Leeds or Wakefield and a whole day spent in attending to their business affairs. The same sum of a guinea a day is charged for sitting upon a commission at Dronfield or Doncaster. Much of his time was given without charge to the public life of Sheffield and to the local charities. He served upon the governing bodies of the Free Grammar School and the Charity School, busied himself in the arrangements made for the new church, for the enlargement of the hospital, supervised the making of clothes for paupers, and in 1740 founded a charity for poor grinders in Sheffield.* In 1736 and 1737 he was acting as chairman of the school burgesses.

	£	s.	d.
31 December 1736. Paid the two Schoolmasters <i>per</i> Jowet their wages for halfe a year each, to witt, Mr. Cliff, † 11 <i>l.</i> and Mr. Myers, £5 10s. It won't be due til Lady day, but paid generally now	16	10	0
4 October, 1737. Paid Mr. Watson his Bill for wine for my school Burges feast, 28 Sept'r	2	9	2
Mr. Woods	7	0	10
Mrs. Horsfields	2	11	10
Gave Serv'ts, & waits &c, that brought me things, ab't	0	12	6
	12	14	4
17 February, 1739. Paid John Brook for walling & ridding in the School Croft before Bradley's door (Mr. Clay to pay me this)	0	7	0
Paid him what he had pd. Roebotham for Dealls and setting up shelves for the books I gave 'em	0	2	9

A list of 'Classic books' follows, comprising copies of Ovid,

* A note in the Wilson collection at Bolsterstone (vol. clix, p. 38) records that 'The Society of Cutlers have placed the said Benefaction in 1740 over the Chimney Piece of the Court Room at the Cutlers' Hall in Gold Letters, & made a great cupboard as a Repository for the said Wairs taken in by the Wardens, in Mr. Marten's Shop'. The money was apparently lost before 1747 by Mr. Dixon, the Master Cutler.

† John Cliffe, head master of the Free Grammar School.

Virgil, Horace, Terence, Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Tully's *Select Orations*, Curtius, Cornelius Nepos, a *Pastor Fido* of 1648, two Greek testaments, a lexicon, gradus, Oxford Grammar, and Cambridge dictionary.

An entry concerning the Boys' Charity School at the corner of the churchyard is as follows; the policy on Scargell's life must have been of considerable value, as in the index to the notebook the surrender is referred to as 'Sitwell's Charity':

5 May, 1737. I rec'd from Mr. Ellis per Jowet, on acc't of the charity School, all the moneys my Bro. had laid down for them on acc't of Tho. Scargell's life unto the amicable Society, and my mother assign'd over all her right in the Pollicy unto Mr. Ellis, in Trust for the sd. Charity Schooll	£ s. d. 44 17 0
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In 1739, when the Trustees of Earl Gilbert's hospital were erecting new buildings to receive such additional pensioners as could be maintained out of the revenues, Mr. Sitwell took the accounts and made the necessary payments:

21 August 1739. I then paid John Brook tow'ds the hospital building	£ s. d. 5 5 0
3 October 1739. Took Mr. Dossie acc'ts of the hospital at Watsons.	

Many other payments to Brook and J. Roebotham on account of the hospital are entered in the last four months of the year.

A letter of April 1725 mentions that Francis Sitwell is to be 'in Town in June next, he or Mr. Wright his partner never failing the Term in that month'. The notebooks record several of these visits to London, which took place every year, but after 1730 more commonly in the winter or in July, when the work of the Term was over. The journey was undertaken on horseback, Mr. Sitwell's man carrying the portmantle or mail leather bag strapped with rings and staples on the saddle behind him. Each had a pair of pistols in the holsters, these being the two pair that were cleaned in August 1737. The road ran through Bolsover, but a detour was sometimes made in order to pass by way of Renishaw. The first night they lay at Nottingham, the second at Market Harborough, the third at Dunstable, London being

reached about five o'clock or in the evening of the fourth day. One shilling and five pence was paid 'in all for the turnpikes' on the way.

When in Town, Mr. Sitwell paid half a crown a day for the two horses to Mackerell, stable-keeper at the Red Hart, the charge being tenpence each for hay, fourpence for corn, and a penny for stabling. He lodged at Mrs. Higgins', a widow who kept a tallow-chandler's shop in Fetter Lane, Holborn, and took his meals at the Golden Ball in the same

Edw. Sitwell
at the Golden Ball
in Fetter Lane
London

From a letter of 22 February, 1730/1

street, to which his letters were addressed. Mrs. Higgins' bill from 27 June to 19 August 1733 amounted to £4 14s. 6d., which, allowing for the three days he was absent, looks like 1s. 11d. a day. But it appears probable that only a shilling was charged for lodging himself and his man. In 1731, when he reached London on the 9th July and left on the 20th August, the bill for about thirty-five days—he having spent five or six at Epsom and Chelmsford—was as follows:

20 August, 1733. Pd. Mrs. Higgins my lodgings,	£	s.	d.
35s., bill for l'res 6s.; washing 9s.; Tea &c. 10s. 6d.;			
Serv'ts 9s.; Barber 7s.		3	16 6

The cost of meals does not appear, but 'French wine from

St. James' was drunk at £1 16s. 0d. the dozen. Mr. Sitwell's man had an allowance of a shilling a day, which seems to have been ample. In 1728, when the owner of the notebooks was accompanied to Town by his articulated clerk, Mr. Carr, the latter usually spent 2d. (1d. for bread, 1d. for milk) upon his breakfast, 6d. or 7d. on his dinner, 2d. on his supper; if he dined at the inn, his dinner came to 1s. or 1s. 2d.; occasionally he spent 1½d. on 'Halfe a pint of amber', or 6d. on 'halfe a pint of white wine' (5).

During Mr. Sitwell's stay in London the daily round was a whirl of business. The ten or more causes in which he was engaged at Easter term, 1730, have already been mentioned; two years earlier when Mr. Carr was with him, we are told that the latter, as appears by his pocket-almanac, 'was kept running about between the King's Bench, the Green Seal Office, Register Office, *Custos Brevium* Office, Alienation Office, Cursitor's Office, King's Silver Office in Brick Court, Chyrographer's Office, Return Office, Warrants of Attorney Office, and so forth'. Mr. Sitwell found time however to call upon his cousins Jane Sacheverell in Bury Street, St. James, Mrs. Mary Shepherd—she was a daughter of Thomas Allestree of Alvaston—in East Street, and George Allestree in Katherine Street; to buy clothes, stocks, linen, India damask, tea, coffee, chocolate, Hungary water, and pictures, or to linger over the book-counters of Clay and Curll. If he frequented a coffee-house, it will have been Child's, formerly a haunt of the great Addison, to the mistress of which his brother in 1776 bequeathed by Will a legacy of £100. The evenings at William Sitwell's house in Dyer's Court Aldermanbury* were sometimes brightened by a game of Quadrille, as is shown by a payment of 14s. for counters—'Quadrille fish'†—in July 1733. Other

* Francis Sitwell, the Spanish merchant, had resided in this house, at which he was visited by Mrs. Jane Sacheverell in May 1695 and by his brother George Sitwell of Renishaw in January 1697-8; he removed before 1715 to Well Close Square. Kent's *Directory* for the years 1763-74 mentions 'Sitwell, William Esq.; 6 Dyer's-court, Aldermanbury'.

† There is a similar entry in Francis Hurt's account-book under the date of 1768. This game of cards for four players had begun about the year 1726 to take the place of ombre, and continued in fashion until whist superseded it. The *Oxford Dictionary* quotes a sentence of 1728: 'I am now going to a party at Quadrille at poor two guineas a fish.'

a Rascally Priest—you know his sententious way of talking—&c., being thear was company, could say no more on that subject to him.'

Besides these hours of leisure in London, the owner of the notebooks was able occasionally to get a whiff of fresh air in the country. In November 1730, he goes for a day 'down with Mr. Hemingway to Epsom',* his expenses being 15s.; he spends three mornings there immediately after Christmas, and in August 1731 joins his uncle Francis at the same place on several separate occasions. In June 1733, three days are passed at Richmond and Hampton Court with his brother's partner, Mr. Parkin, 14s. 6d. being paid for the outing. In 1739, he stays a month at Hampstead; the cost of his lodgings being £2 14s. 0d., of hay and corn for his horse, £1 5s. 6d.

Arrangements for the return journey to Sheffield were uncertain. In January 1730, as his stay in London was likely to be prolonged, the two horses were returned to Yorkshire, Mr. Sitwell giving his man £1 'to bear his Charges home'; later on, the owner of the notebooks pays 2s. 6d. 'with my portmantua to Nottingham' and rides down on a horse bought for £5 5s. 10d., less than the £6 10s. 0d. he had given for a new coat and breeches on the previous day. In August 1731, Mr. Sitwell travelled home with greater comfort in a four-wheeled chaise bought for his cousin at Renishaw. Five horses hired at 2s. 6d. each a day, four being for the chaise and the fifth for his servant to ride on, took him to Nottingham, whither another five had been sent from Renishaw to meet him.

Expences of Cos. Sitwell's Chaise

	£	s.	d.
It cost me with the Harnesse &c., as by receipt . . .	31	0	0
Pd. Alexander for the horses & man down, &c gave the man	4	10	0
He ought to pay the expences at Nottingham, wch. were: horses 10s., expences 3 men & selfe 15s., for the cold fowle & Beer 2s., at Bolsover 1s.	1	8	0
Servants at Nottingham	0	1	6
	36	19	6

* Concerning Epsom, *England Gazetteer* of 1751 remarks that 'On the neighbouring downs are annually horse-races, but the wells and bowling greens are not so much frequented as formerly'.

£ s. d.

The expences down to Nottingham I ought to bear myselfe.

Came out of Town Friday 20th Aug't, w'th Mr. King the Hackney writer for Mr. Wright, in the Chaise I bought for my Cos. Sitwell

It cost me expences on him & the Coachman 5 days home 2 5 0

Besides at Nottingham, for then I had the 5 horses to keep, that came to meet me, 10s., and the Bill there 17s., serv'ts 1s. 6d. 1 8 6

Pd. Alexander's man the Coachman for 7 days as by agreem't at 12s. 6d. a day, £4 7s. 6d., & the Coachman 2s. 6d. 4 10 0

Pd. Mr. Gilbert the Coachman for the Chaise, painting the Crest and putting the Brass Crests on the Harness, for the brass clasps on the Topp and for a pair of new Harnesse, in the whole as by his rec't 31 0 0

The owner of the notebooks often ran over from Sheffield to Buxton in spring or summer, spending nine days there (expenses £5 5s. 0d.) in April 1731, two in October, twelve in June 1733. In August 1736 he stays for twenty days at Scarborough, spending £23, and in the following year the visit is repeated.

£ s. d.

Took with me to Scarborough 33 guineas & an half in gold, & some silver.

6 August 1737. Got back from Scarborough, and found in my Pocket at home 2 Guineas & some Silver.

Soe that I reckon I spent there & in buying India Stuffs, velvet, wine, Coffee, tea, & Handkerchiefs, and at York,

Books, Porter, &c., 31 Guineas & a half 33 1 6

Scarborough was a very expensive place. In 1736 Mr. Sitwell's man, who was content with twelvecence for his diet in London, 'growld at 1s. a day being too small an allowance at Scarborough', and had to be given an additional three shillings, that is to say twopence a day for eighteen days, in order to put him in a good humour again.

This chapter may end with a note upon prices at Sheffield in 1731-9, the modern equivalent being given in brackets in order to make comparison easy. A gardener gets 1s. a day (7s. to 7s. 6d.), a sewing girl, 3d. (4s 6d.). A man servant in livery has £7 7s. 0d. wages a year (£70). A year's

shaving—it was an age of wigs—costs £1 (£3 to £5, including hair-cutting); a year's washing, £4 3s. 2d. (£35 to £45). Shoes cost 6s. 6d. a pair (35s. to 40s.); a dozen knives and forks, 14s. (with horn handles, £3 15s. 0d.). Eighteen shillings and sixpence (£2 14s. 0d.) is charged for brokerage on the purchase of £750 bank stock at 143½ to 144. For two important lawsuits in 1731, the Attorney General and Solicitor General accept retainers of a guinea, 2s. 6d. being paid also to their clerks. About fifteen years ago, when these officials still took private practice, a hundred guineas would have been the fee, but allowing for the increase of legal charges since the war, £140 at least will be in this case the modern equivalent of £1 1s. 0d. two centuries ago.

At Derby in March 1731, when Mr. Sitwell attended the Assizes, his 'expenses, selfe, man and horses from Wednesday noon to Friday noon & home', were only fifteen shillings.

CHAPTER XVI

SOCIAL LIFE IN SHEFFIELD

THE Balguy correspondence and the notebooks of 1730-9 are valuable because they enable us to correct Hunter's estimate of social life in Sheffield during the early years of the eighteenth century. 'The want', we are told in his *History of Hallamshire*, 'of a due mixture of persons well-educated and of a superior situation in life, rendered Sheffield at this period less distinguished by the elegancies and refinements of social life than by feelings of independence and rugged honesty, by hospitality and a rude and boisterous conviviality. There were no assemblies. There was no theatre. The principal amusements of the place were the sports at the Castle bowling-green, and social meetings at the taverns. A very small number of books kept in the vestry of the parish church was the only library.'

'It was not till near the beginning of the reign of George III that any great improvement was manifested in the taste and manners of the inhabitants of Sheffield, or in the management of their greatly increased commerce. No communication had been established with the metropolis by means of coaches. The roads on many sides of the town were rough and inconvenient. No fresh depository of books had been proposed. Between 1740 and 1760 several attempts had been made to establish a weekly newspaper, but without success; and the public were disposed to acquiesce in an arrangement of Ward's, to circulate in Sheffield on the Monday the Northampton Mercury, which was printed in that town on the Saturday. From the year 1733 the assemblies were held in two rooms of the boys' charity school, where the company enjoyed conversation or the mazy dance by light, not of wax, which beamed from sconces of tin. There was little communication with the gentry of the surrounding neighbourhood, who rarely visited Sheffield, except at the annual feast given by the company of cutlers.'

The opinion stated by Hunter, namely that social life in Sheffield was wanting in elegance and refinement, is more

crudely expressed in a paper read by Dr. Gatty at the congress of the British Archæological Association in 1874. *'Still the extraordinary fact remains indisputable that up to about the middle of last century [1750], the town of Sheffield continued to be a mere settlement of forgers and grinders. The man with £100 a year was in the first grade of society.'*

It will be well to examine these statements in detail. Is it true that 'to be as rich as a man of a hundred a year was proverbially to be in the highest rank'? One cannot doubt that in the first half of the eighteenth century £100 went a great deal farther than it does at present, for the diary (before 1757) of the Rev. John Pye of Sheffield shows that having that income he was able to keep a horse and to put by considerable sums of money (1). But the sentence quoted by Dr. Gatty rests upon the authority of Mr. Samuel Roberts, who was born at Sheffield in 1763, thirteen years after the expiration of the period mentioned, and as appears by the autobiography of the latter, refers only to the manufacturers of plated and other goods. These people formed a little society by themselves, and did not seek to mix with the class above them.

Is it true that persons of good position and education were wanting, and that the town was rarely visited by the gentry of the surrounding neighbourhood? Sheffield of course had suffered when the lords of Hallamshire abandoned their residence at the Castle, and before the end of the seventeenth century many of the leading families in the vicinity had disappeared. The Spencers of Attercliffe, the Brights of Carbrook and Whirlow, the Foxes of Fulwood, the Halls of Stumperlowe, the Staniforths of Darnall, together with the Ashtons, Hollises, Hanleys, and Birleys, had either dissipated their estates or had removed to other districts (2). But many gentle families remained, and Sheffield itself was not devoid of cultured inhabitants. The assessment to the poll-tax of 1692, in addition to the Vicar and 'Mr. Pearson, Dr. of Physick', names one esquire, six gentlemen, two Masters and one Bachelor of Arts; amongst the subscribers to Dr. Short's *History of Mineral Waters*, published in 1734, we find twenty-three residents. Five of these are clergy-

men; there are four gentlemen and one esquire, a book-seller, the draughtsman who drew the illustrations, two surgeons, two apothecaries, with several others whose rank in life is not disclosed. The second volume, issued in 1740, adds seven names to the list; we have two more gentlemen, a clergyman, a doctor, two surgeons, and 'Mr. Joseph Broadbent', who we know was a rich merchant.

Francis Sitwell's letter, written from Sheffield in 1735, states that a multitude of the neighbouring gentry had taken it into their heads to rendezvous that winter at York, where they could find cheap and good provisions, operas, plays, music-meetings, &c., even to vie with the great metropolis (3). One may infer that until 1734 they spent Christmas at their country seats, and that Sheffield offered some entertainments, such as plays music-meetings and dances, which induced them now and again to spend a night or two in the town. The establishment of an assembly in 1733 may well have been inspired by a desire to offer some counter-attraction to the gaieties of York. In the Balguy correspondence, Phillis and her friend are always longing to get over to Sheffield; the Renishaw letters show that the Sitwells, Jane Sacheverell, the Simpsons of Babworth, the Shores and Scropes, visited it occasionally to make purchases in the shops, to meet their friends, or to attend to their business affairs, and much evidence to the same effect could easily be produced from the Wilson collections.

Is it true that during the period referred to the town was lacking in the elegancies and refinements of social life? Christopher Robinson, master of the Grammar School and afterwards Rector of Welby in Lincolnshire, who published many theological treatises in 1733-40, declared that he '*knew of no place in which such rational and cheerful and innocent society was to be found*' (4); concerning Joseph Banks, afterwards of Revesby Abbey and M.P. first for Grimsby, then for Totness, we are told that having left the town in 1710, '*he never seemed to enjoy life more than when he had collected a few of his old Sheffield friends, whom he used to invite to pay him an annual visit of two or three days in his retirement at Scofton*' (5).

If Hunter had written that there was a small but agreeable

society of persons well-educated and of a superior station in life, but that the poorer class was without refinement, this would have been nearer the truth, but not the whole truth. The number of educated men was not so small, for many of the tradesmen had received an excellent classical training at the Grammar School together with the sons of the country gentry. The Grammar School was under Church influence, but the local Nonconformists had as good or even better opportunities of learning. '*An Account of Sheffield*', contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1764, informs us that 'at Attercliffe there was formerly an Academy, Mr. Jolley master, where the famous mathematician Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, had part of their education'. The latter had left Attercliffe in or before the year 1710.

Of the manual workers, the majority no doubt were illiterate, but even here there were exceptions. 'Nothing', says Leader, 'is more remarkable than the manner in which throughout the seventeenth century, the surrounding yeomen and local gentry bound their younger sons to the Sheffield cutlers. The Brights, Foljambes, Wortleys, Shirecliffes, Jessops, Seliokes, and many others, thought it no disgrace to bring up their boys as handicraftsmen.' It seems, then, that some of the cutlers' hands belonged by birth to what Hunter describes as 'a superior situation in life', and their example must have had some influence upon their fellow workers.

Excellent schools were to be found at Sheffield, and the place was not wanting in opportunities of recreation. In 1687 there was a coffee-house, commodious enough for meetings relating to the town's business to be held in it; races were run on Crook's Moor as early as 1711,* and Hunter should have included these in his list of the principal amusements. There was no Assembly until 1733, but there are no assemblies now, and associations of this kind, which did not come into fashion until the early years of the eighteenth century, are not necessary to social life. There was no theatre, but dramatic representations were given at

* See also the *Derby Mercury* of 14 July 1737.

the town hall or in the yard of the Angel Inn, as during Elizabethan times, and there is reason to believe that even in Shakespeare's day an art of the drama existed. There was no Sheffield newspaper, but a London journal is better than a local one; the Town Trustees and the household at Bridge-houses were supplied, as we have seen, with the *Evening Post*, and we are told that as early as 1713 the barber's shop of John Lee was known as '*the Whig News Shop*', because he took in the newspapers of that political complexion for the advantage of his customers (6).

Hunter says that before 1771, when a subscription library was opened on the model of one founded a short time ago at Leeds, there was none in the town, except for a very small number of books kept in the vestry of the parish church. Yet Nevill Simmons' auction catalogue of '*Excellent English and Latin Books*' in 1692, shows that there was a reading public, and quite a number of books were published in the town during the period referred to. The library in the vestry must have comprised some hundreds of volumes, and was important enough to be mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1764. There seems also to have been a circulating library as early as 1737, when two years' subscription is paid by Mr. Sitwell to '*Gill, the Treasurer of the Society for reading books*'. Hunter's assertion that Mr. Roebuck's bank, founded in 1770, was the first known in Sheffield, is also open to objection. Mr. Benjamin Greaves is described in 1734 as 'a Great Banker at Sheffield', and a banker cannot exist without a bank, though that does not necessarily imply a staff of clerks at work in offices designed for the purpose.

Hunter speaks in disparaging terms of the buildings erected in the first half of the eighteenth century: 'The dwelling houses were plain substantial buildings', in those intended for public use 'not the least attention was paid to architectural decoration'. But was he a good judge of architecture? Plain Georgian houses have come into favour again, and the porch of John Batty's residence in High Street has been thought worthy of preservation in a local museum. St. Paul's Church, which Dr. Gatty describes as a

'Grecian structure', appears to us to be a graceful and meritorious building in the style of Wren's London churches; it is said to resemble St. Philip's (now the Cathedral) at Birmingham, which was the work of one of Vanbrugh's pupils.

Dr. Jackson in 1893 took exception to the accepted view of Sheffield society in the early years of the eighteenth century, maintaining in a lecture which the present writer has not had the advantage of consulting, that there was 'more comfort and more culture than Mr. Hunter quite realized'. Mr. Leader and other local antiquaries refused to be convinced. Yet if Sheffield was so rude, how are we to account for the beauty of the silver and plated copper produced there, for the fact that much of the china made at Derby was sent to Sheffield to be painted, or for the grace and refinement of the billhead engraved before May 1760 for 'William Hall, Upholsterer and Cabinet Maker in High Street'?* Hall sold Chippendale furniture, Oriental and Worcester china: could such articles as are here represented be bought in Sheffield or in London to-day?

There is reason to believe that until 1750 or later Sheffield retained its amenities and had not ceased to be desirable as a place of residence. The number of handicraftsmen working in the town was not so great as has been represented. In a pamphlet of 1723, entitled '*The Method Proposed for making the River Dunn Navigable*', we are told that 'the Cutlers there incorporated are not less than 6000 Workmen, besides Smiths, Anvil-makers, Edge-Tool makers, Nailors and several thousands of other Manufacturers in Iron not incorporated'. Hunter makes all these thousands resident 'in or about Sheffield', but this is inaccurate. The estimate includes all living within the great district known as Hallamshire and everywhere within six miles beyond its limits.

In 1747 the town is referred to as 'Old Smoky Sheffield', Horace Walpole in 1760 describes it as 'one of the foulest towns in England' though in the most charming situation, and four years later Edward Goodwin writes that 'owing to the great quantity of smoak caused by the manufactory,

* This is reproduced in the *Letters of the Sitwells and Sacheverells*.

the newest buildings are apt soon to be discoloured'. He states that on the river Don, both above the town and for three miles below it, great numbers of works had been erected for forging slitting and preparing the steel for the Sheffield manufactures, and for grinding knives, scissors, &c. Nevertheless, 'smoky' is a relative term; the inconveniences which the modern world cheerfully accepts were unknown to our forefathers, and what we should regard as a light blue haze must have appeared to them to be an intolerable murkiness.* The volume of smoke was greatly increased between 1750 and 1760 owing to three factors: the improvement of trade which followed the development of the river navigation, the use of pit-coal in the blast furnaces, and the local conversion of iron into steel.

The Navigation shares paid their first dividend in 1731, and the work was not completed until about 1740. Though the small caking coal known as 'sea-coal' had been used from 1641 and probably much earlier† in forges and small furnaces turning out three or four tons a week, 'pit-coal did not come into regular use in the blast furnaces before 1757'. Gatty dates the introduction of these larger blast-furnaces, wherein coal was employed for melting the ore, about the year 1769. Glover states that until about the year 1770 all the cast and bar iron in Derbyshire was made in small charcoal furnaces. As late as 1750, four-fifths of the iron used in England was still imported from Sweden. The furnaces for converting iron into steel 'in the town of Sheffield and its environs', mentioned by *Mons. Gabriel Jars* in 1764, had probably been erected since 1750, the method being imitated from that introduced by *Crawley* at Newcastle. Before 1740 most of the steel used at Sheffield was imported, and *Hunter* informs us that 'about 1750, the iron manufacture was lower than at any other recorded period: being the time at which the use of charcoal was going out for the purpose of smelting, and coal had not yet been adopted'.

* Evelyn in his *Character of England* (1659), speaking of London, says, 'Such a cloud of *Sea-coal*, as if there be a resemblance of *Hell* upon Earth, it is in this *vulcano* on a foggy day'.

† See above, p. 74.

Some indication as regards the increase of smoke is afforded also by statistics of population. In 1615, the total population was 2,207. Between 1610 and 1710, as judged by the number of marriages at the parish church, it had more than doubled. In 1709, a passage which has escaped notice in Defoe's 'Review', speaks of a great increase in wealth and number. '*The rich trading towns in the North, such as Manchester, and Rochdale, Sheffield, Wakefield, Gainsbro' and the like, where they have no Corporation and consequently none of their Mischief, do they not encrease, grow wealthy and populous, and thrive as much as any place in England, and some of them have, (as they say) more People than in the City of York*' (7). In 1736 a house-to-house survey of Sheffield gave it 10,121 inhabitants; in 1760, when Walpole passed through it, the number was generally estimated at 22,000. The greatest growth will have been after the year 1750.

Sheffield has always alternated between periods of prosperity and depression, and as a rule trade has been at its worst when the country was exhausted after the termination of a long war. In Cromwell's day the town was overburdened with poor people having no occupation; it will have shared in the general recovery of the kingdom under Charles the Second, and in 1709 was wealthy and populous. In 1736 the cutlers were doing so well that they were willing to take apprentices without a premium, engaging to maintain them with food drink and clothing throughout the seven years of service (8). In 1740, as we have seen, a charity is founded for poor cutlers or grinders. Poverty and suffering were often to be found there, but the degradation of the town, so noticeable in Hunter's day, was a sequel to the Napoleonic wars, and did not date back before the early years of the nineteenth century.

In Francis Sitwell's notebooks, his sister, Mrs. Hurt, is often mentioned, and something should here be said as to the connexion with Sheffield of her son, Francis, who was only eleven years old in December 1739, when they close their last day. His earliest companions in childhood were his cousins, John and Ann Reresby, and the children of George Phipps of High Green; these friendships lasted to

the end of his life. In 1741 his uncle left him by Will a sum of £500, 'such part to be applicable to his education as the Executors may think fit'. He may probably have been absent at the Grammar School of Chesterfield on the 8th or 9th of December 1745, when the Highlanders on their retreat from Derby passed within a few miles of Sheffield, causing a panic amongst the inhabitants. During his holidays he sometimes visited his cousin Francis Sitwell, at Renishaw, as is shown by an old book of accounts which records in 1743-9 several small additions to his pocket money or presents 'to buy him some books'.

A strong taste for music had attracted him already to flute-playing (then part of every gentleman's education) and the violin, and it was probably in 1749-50 that he bought the copy of the *Musical Entertainer*, published in 1740, which has been preserved in the library. The songs contained in it, with charming head-pieces engraved by Bickham, have flute accompaniments for the voice, and the pages exhibit many notes in his hand. This, like other of his books, contains sketches in pen and ink which show a gift for figure drawing and the representation of foliage. Such tastes naturally drew him towards town life, picture galleries, and the society of artists, amongst whom he had, later on, a considerable acquaintance. It was his practice to inquire about all who worked in the neighbourhood of any town he was visiting, and in a letter of 1775 he mentioned three settled at or near Sheffield; their names unfortunately are lost, as the letter is only known by the reply. Copley, who painted a large group of his children, was a personal friend, and sometimes accompanied him to exhibitions in London. With Nathan Drake, the painter and miniaturist, he was on something more than the terms usual between artist and client; he purchased pictures also from Walton, Old Morland, and Marlow. Other acquaintances were Mr. Ansell, Mr. Orme, and the John Batty who exhibited several landscapes at the Academy in 1772-8. To 'Edward Shirecliffe of Bristol, painter', he bequeathed by his Will a legacy of £100. The latter was probably a son of Samuel Shirecliffe of Sheffield and afterwards of Bristol. Drake and Batty, who were

settled at York in 1775, had relations in Sheffield and may have been born in that town.

In April 1749, when Francis came of age, it was already clear that he must succeed to the Renishaw estates, his uncle, upon whom they were entailed, being fifty-three years old and showing no inclination to marry. He often stayed with the latter in London, but his home was with his mother and grandmother at Sheffield, and in 1747-50 he was a subscriber to the Assemblies, which were then held in the rooms of the Boys' Charity School. The list of members (9) includes also several of his relations and friends; namely, his aunt, Miss Statham; his cousins, Miss Eccles, Mr. Phipps of High Green, Miss Shirecliffe of Whitley Hall, and Miss Laughton; Mr. and Mrs. Wright, the three Miss Heaton, Mr. and Mrs. Battie, Miss Drake, Walter Osborne and Mrs. Parkin of Ravenfield Hall. The latter is said to have been 'a great person in her day and a leader of fashion in Sheffield' (10). All officers on duty in Sheffield or casually residing there were honorary members.

The assemblies had been begun in 1733, Madam Parkin being one of the principal promoters. A book of accounts formerly in the possession of Dr. Jackson shows that the rooms were lighted by tallow-candles supported by sconces with brass arms, and that the music cost 10s. 6d. a night. The annual subscription was a guinea. Miss Lodge, the only daughter of Joshua Lodge, was Queen of the Assembly in 1740, and Mrs. Shirecliffe in 1743:

£ s. d.

Mrs. Schirtcliff bought of S. Simmons

1743. Nov. 17. Three Books of Country dances for the
use of Sheff'd Assembly

0 1 6

There was a card assembly every Friday; others for dancing, &c., were held on the Thursday nearest the full moon in every month. But the principal meetings took place at the time of the Cutlers' Feast and of the Races, on which occasions the rooms were opened for three nights in succession. Minuets were begun at seven o'clock, and followed by country dances. At nine there was an interval of an hour, during which the party regaled themselves with tea and

negus. No country dances were to be called after midnight, but minuets were danced till one, when the music was withdrawn.

The death of his grandmother in December 1751, followed by that of his half-sister in 1753 and of his mother in August 1754, broke up the old home at Sheffield, and Mr. Hurt went to live in London with his uncle, William Sitwell, who had already adopted him as his heir and was making him an allowance of £400 a year. In 1760, he is described as 'late of Sheffield, and now of St. Mary Aldermanbury in the City of London, Esq.' It was the custom of these two to spend the winter at 6 Dyer's Court, Aldermanbury, and much of the summer at Renishaw, of which estate a survey made in 1766 gives a plan of the old gardens with an elevation of the Hall.

In July 1755, he visited Portsmouth to view the noble fleet of twenty-nine ships of the line lying there in readiness to sail, the firings which celebrated the anniversary of the coronation, and the arrival of Lord Anson and the Duke of Cumberland. A letter, which has unfortunately perished, to Mr. Raines of Sheffield, described his company to Portsmouth and his reception there; the *Connoisseur* of July 9 mentions that all the polite world were then hurrying to that place, to see mock-fights and be regaled on board the Admiral. In August he attended the opening with a grand musical entertainment of the new organ at St. Paul's Church in Sheffield, and it appears by Mr. Waterhouse's letter, desiring to 'see your honor at my house', that he had then no residence in the town. Twelve months later, he was engaged in viewing the encampments of the Guards, who had been sent down to Surrey to repel an expected invasion by the French, and at some time in the same year he was in the company of his friend Samuel Pegge, the famous antiquary, as is shown by the latter's copy of the Reresby pedigree (11), endorsed '*This Roll I had from Francis Hurt, 1756*'. During this period of his life, much of his time was spent at various watering places, such as Bath, Buxton, Bristol, Harrogate, and Scarborough, which he visited not for health but for amusement.

In October 1767, he married at Clifton near Bristol, Mary, daughter of Canon Warneford of York. The York newspapers quaintly describe her as 'a young Lady of great Merit', and according to Charlotte Lady Wake she was the beauty of Bath in her day and a very clever intellectual girl besides, what in those days was known as a *précieuse*. Her family had been seated for centuries at Warneford Place in Wiltshire, to which estate her nephew succeeded, and her grandmother was a daughter of Sir John Goodricke of Ribston, through whom and through the Eures (12) there is a descent from the Dukes of Normandy, the Counts of Britany, and many baronial houses, including the Yorkshire Estutevilles. She and her husband settled in the neighbourhood of Sheffield. A lease of 1773 describes Mr. Hurt as 'of the Edge, Esq.', and a letter undated, but probably written in the same year, is directed to him 'At Edge near Sheffield'. This local name might apply to Nether Edge, or to Brinkcliffe Edge, formerly the property of his cousins the Laughtons.

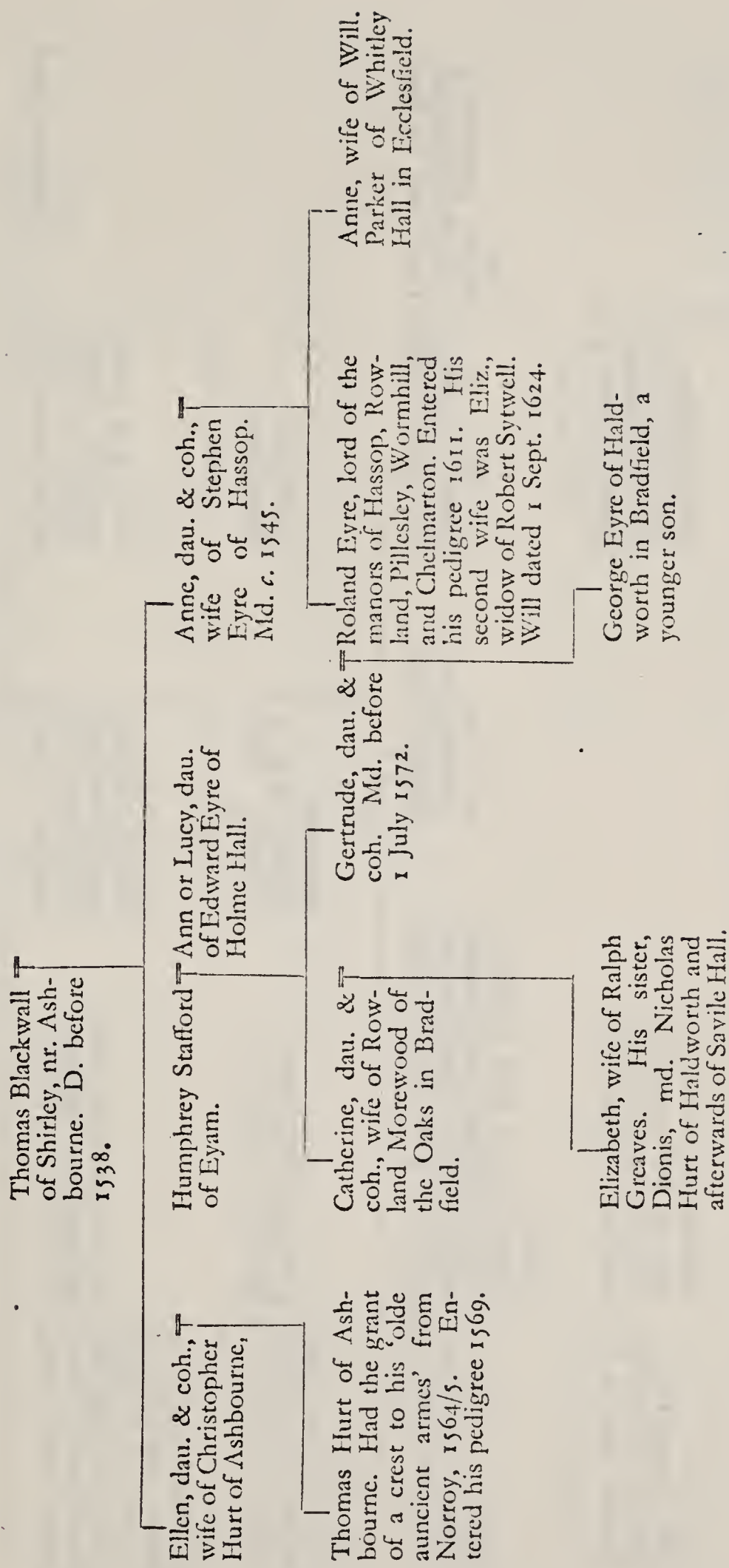
In August 1775 he took for three years from George Greaves, 'of Charlton in the county of Kent, merchant', a messuage, garden, stable, chaise-house, &c., &c., at Little Sheffield. The latter place was then an outlying hamlet about a mile from the town, from which it was separated by Sheffield Moor, the site of the annual races. In 1776 he succeeded to Renishaw, and in the following year, having bought the site of the house referred to above, built Mount Pleasant, a large and well-designed house in the style associated with the name of the brothers Adam; gardens and a small park surrounded it, and it formed a conspicuous object as one approached Sheffield from the London road. Renishaw was his principal residence, but he usually spent the London season at his house in Audley Square and the winter months at Mount Pleasant, where society, music, and teaching for his children could be more easily obtained than at home. His income during the last few years of his life was not less than £22,000, equal in purchasing power to £66,000 in money of 1913 and to a far greater sum to-day.

By his Will, dated 5 February 1792, he directed his eldest

son to settle Mount Pleasant, together with the grounds and appurtenances, so that it might be held and enjoyed after the death of his wife (who predeceased him) as a hospital for the benefit of the town and neighbourhood of Sheffield. But having been forestalled in this good purpose by a committee, which raised a large sum by public subscription and preferred a site elsewhere, he gave £500 to the Infirmary so founded, and revoking this bequest in his Will, left by codicil a legacy of like amount. He died on the 16th August 1793.

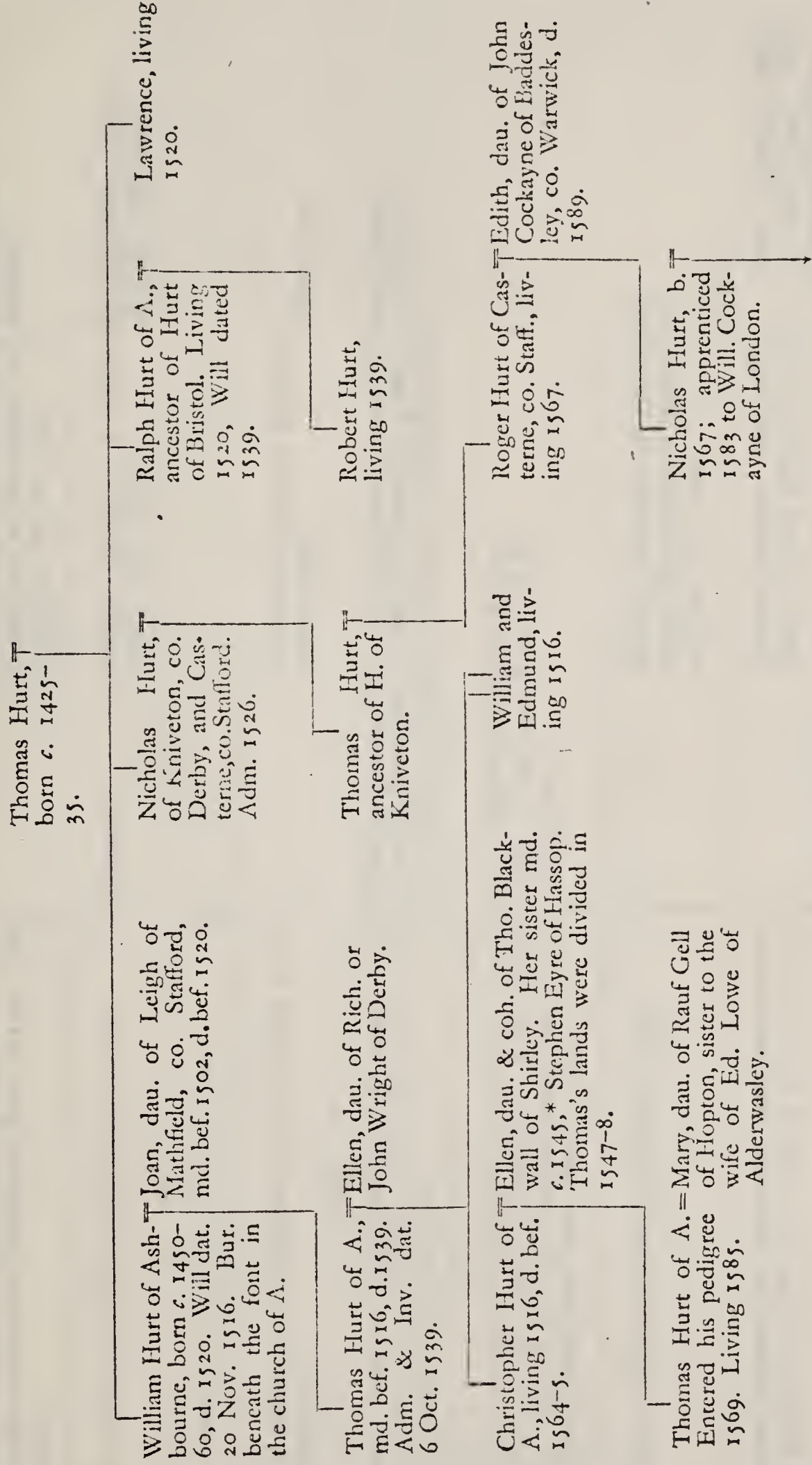
APPENDIX I
ADDITIONAL PEDIGREES

XIII. BRADFIELD CONNEXION OF THE ASHBOURNE HURTS



Edmund, brother of Stephen Eyre of Hassop, was provided for by a lease of the tithes of Bradfield, granted in 1535. See Joseph Hunter's *Gens Sylvestrina*, p. 139.

XIV. THE HURTS OF ASHBOURNE



* So says Hunter.

XV. THE ADAMSONS OF HALDWORTH BANK

Adam Allynson of Haldworth, $\overline{\text{Isabella}}$, living 1378. *Ob. ante* 1404.

Richard Adamson of Haldworth, 1406. Had the messuage on the site of Haldworth Bank in 1435. *Ob. ante* 1446.

John Adamson of Haldworth. $\overline{\text{Elizabeth}}$, or Found heir to his father, 27 July 1404. *Ob. ante* 1434.

John Adamson of Haldworth, living 1446-8.

$\overline{\text{Margaret}}$.

Thomas Adamson of Hald- = Isabella, living as wife of Tho. 5 May 1435.

John Adamson of Haldworth, 1494-1506.

John Adamson of Haldworth, 1558. Buried at B. 13 May 1573.

Thomas Adamson of Dunge- = . . . living 1507.

Richard Adamson of Haldworth, 1558; aged 55 in 1589; bur. at B. 20 March 1616/17. He built c. 1573 the existing house at the Bank.

Alice Barber, dau. of Roger Barber and sister of Sir Robert Barber, Vicar of Conisbrough. Md. at Ecclesfield 7 Sept. 1559, bur. at B. 11 Dec. 1596. Her sister md. in 1564 Robert Hurt.

Edward Adamson of Haldworth, bapt. 25 Feb. 1567-8, bur. at B. 11 Oct. 1638. Will proved at York, 9 Oct. 1639. He and his son Edward bought the site of Haldworth Hall from Walter Hurt in 1633.

Eliz., dau. of Christopher Taylor. Bapt. 13 Jan. 1565/6, md. at B. 1 Oct. 1593.

Edward Adamson of Haldworth, *junior*, 1633.

George Adamson of Haldworth Bank. Bapt. 17 March 1593/4, bur. at B. 29 Nov. 1644.

Edward Adamson of Haldworth Bank, mentioned in his grandfather's Will, 1639. Bur. 3 June 1721.

George Adamson. Bapt. 2 Feb. 1644/5. Living 1705.

John Adamson. Bapt. 25 April 1647. Will dated 20 Feb. 1705.

Edward Adamson of Edensor, bapt. 14 April 1670. = Built Haldworth Hall c. 1702. *Ob. ante* 9 April 1723, when the Bank passed to Mary Kenyon.

Mary Adamson, bapt. $\overline{\text{Edward Kenyon}}$, bur. at 28 May 1668, d. 25 B. 23 July 1747. Aug. 1743.

1870-1871
1871-1872
1872-1873

1873-1874
1874-1875
1875-1876

1876-1877

1877-1878

1878-1879

1879-1880

1880-1881

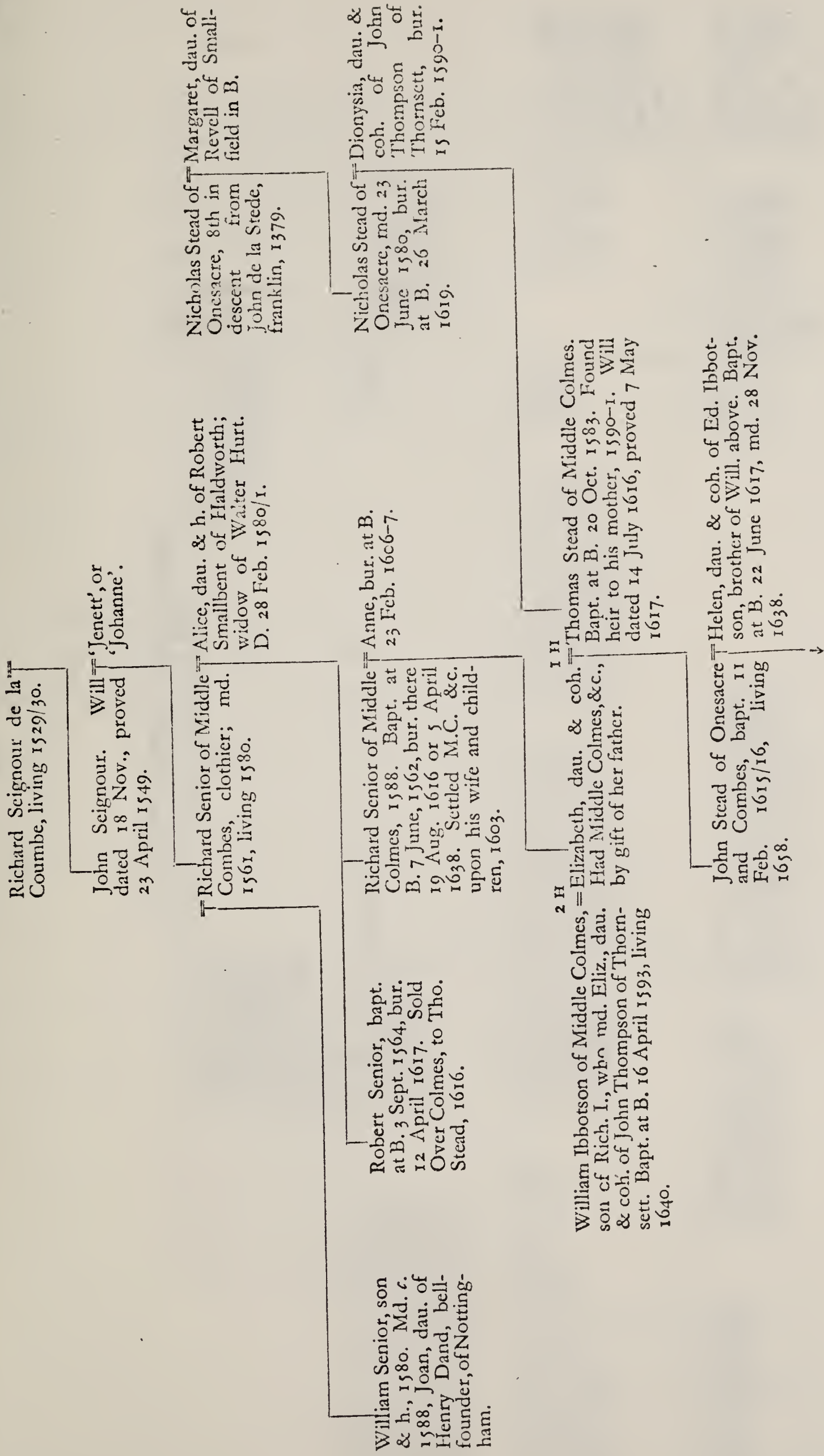
1881-1882

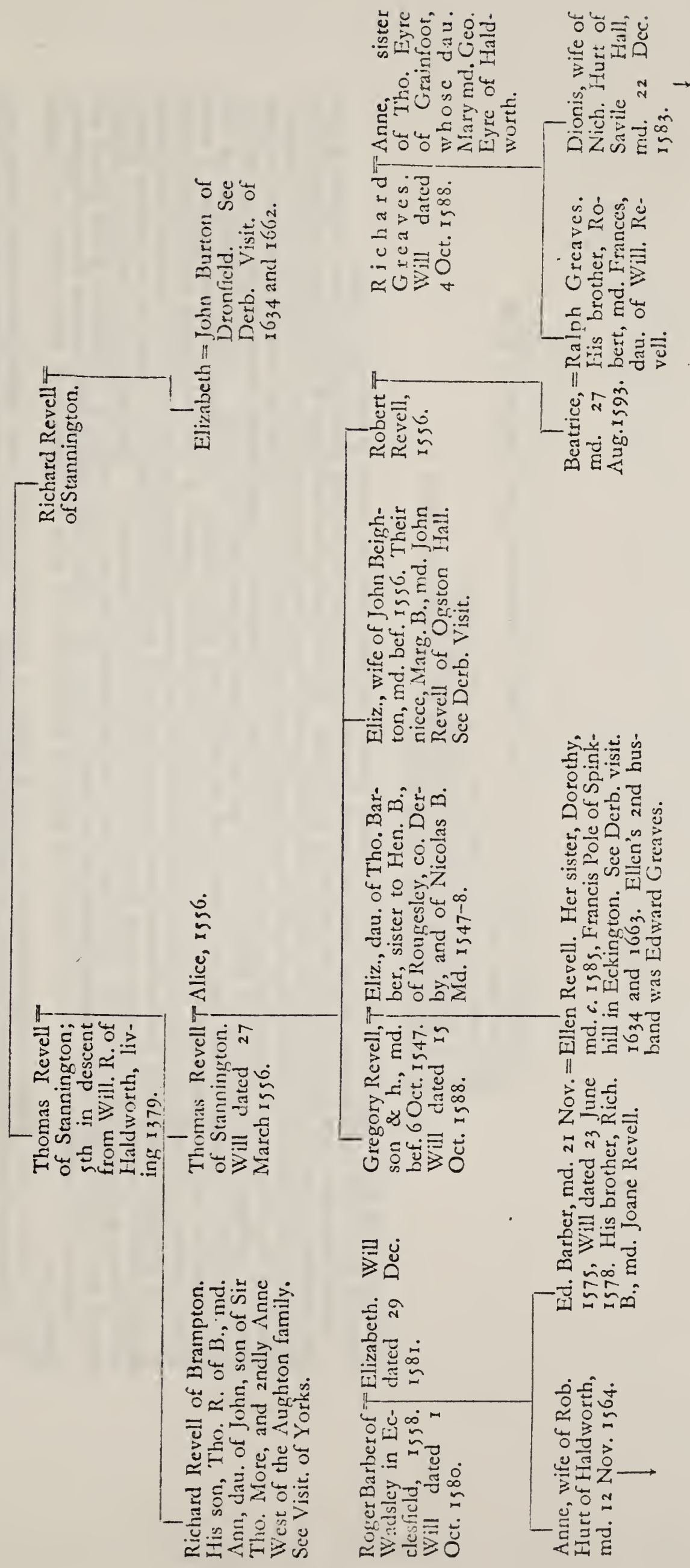
1882-1883

1883-1884

1884-1885

XVI. THE SENIORS OF COMBES IN BRADFIELD





Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty makes Richard Revell of Stannington brother to Thomas. The Barbers, like the Eyres, came from the Peak Forest, where in 1497 a Roger Barber was forester of fee in Edale (a hamlet of the manor of Hope) and Ashop, being deputy for Sir Ralf Sherley (A).

A charter of 14 August 1523 from John Hertley and Margaret his wife conveys lands in Ecclesfield to John Greaves and Thomas Barber, son of Edward Barber of Rughtlee (Rowlee) in the parish of Hope (B). These lands were divided between the two grantees in 1552, Edward Barber being a witness (B). A deed of 4 May 1570 by Thomas Creswick of Owlerton is witnessed by Roger Barber, and contains power of attorney to Edward Barber of Wadsley in Ecclesfield to give possession (C). Gregory Revell of Stannington married in 1547/8 Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Barber, sister to Henry Barber of Rougesley (Rowlee?), co. Derby, and to Nicholas Barber; Arthur Wilson of the Bromhead family in 1557 mentions his sister, wife of Thomas Barber of West Den. Roger Barber with John Senior, John Creswicke, and Sir Richard Beard witnesses the Will of John Waterhouse of Wadsley in 1558, and he may be the person of that name named as a supervisor in the Will of Edward Eyre of Hope, dated 6 May 1559 (C). The appointment is as follows: 'I make John . . . Esquier, John Hollinworthe Esquier, Roger Barbar, William Hollinworthe, supervisors.' As already related in the text, Edward Eyre's aunts had married Birley of the Yews and Greaves of Haldworth; another branch also of the Eyre family was connected with the Greaves and Barbers, for George Eyre of Abney, uncle to Richard Greaves of Haldworth, married about 1510-20 Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Barber of Shotton, while his brother, Robert Eyre of Crookhill, was the husband of Elizabeth's sister, Sytha (E).

Several members of this family were in the service of the Talbots. Amongst the Shrewsbury MSS. in the College of Arms are some letters of about 1589, from Edward Barber, gent., as also an account of goods bought for Lord Shrewsbury in France by Ralph Barber in 1575 (F). This Ralph, in his Will, which mentions Edward Barber, describes himself as 'servant to Lord Shrewsbury'.

(A) Hunter, *Archæol. Soc.*, 1918, pp. 340-1.

(B) T. Walter Hall, *Material for the History of Wincobank*, 1922, pp. 1, 3.

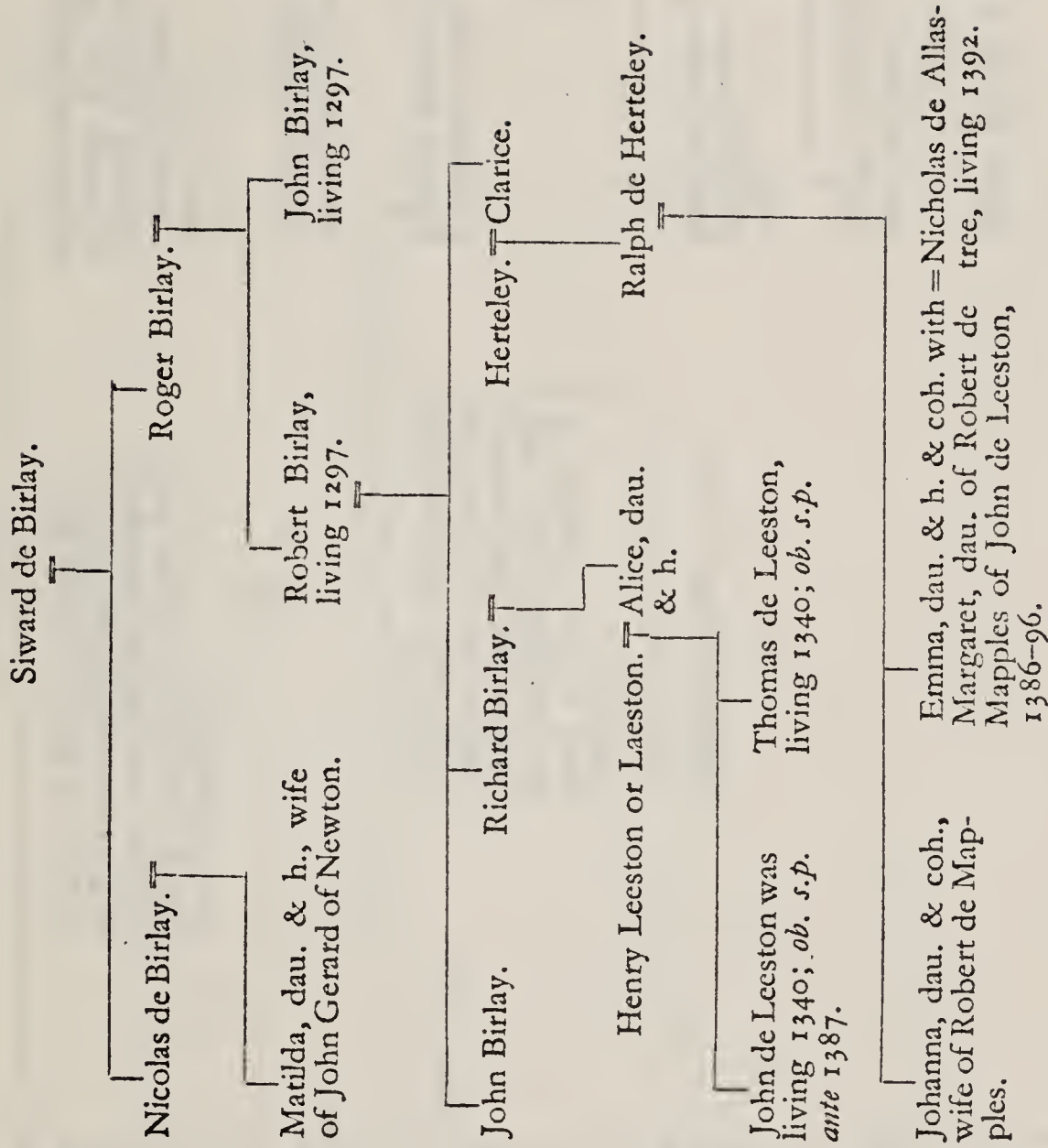
(C) T. Walter Hall, *Descriptive Cat. of Wbeat. Coll.* p. 75.

(D) See the I.P.M. of Edward Eyre in the Record Office.

(E) *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 544-5.

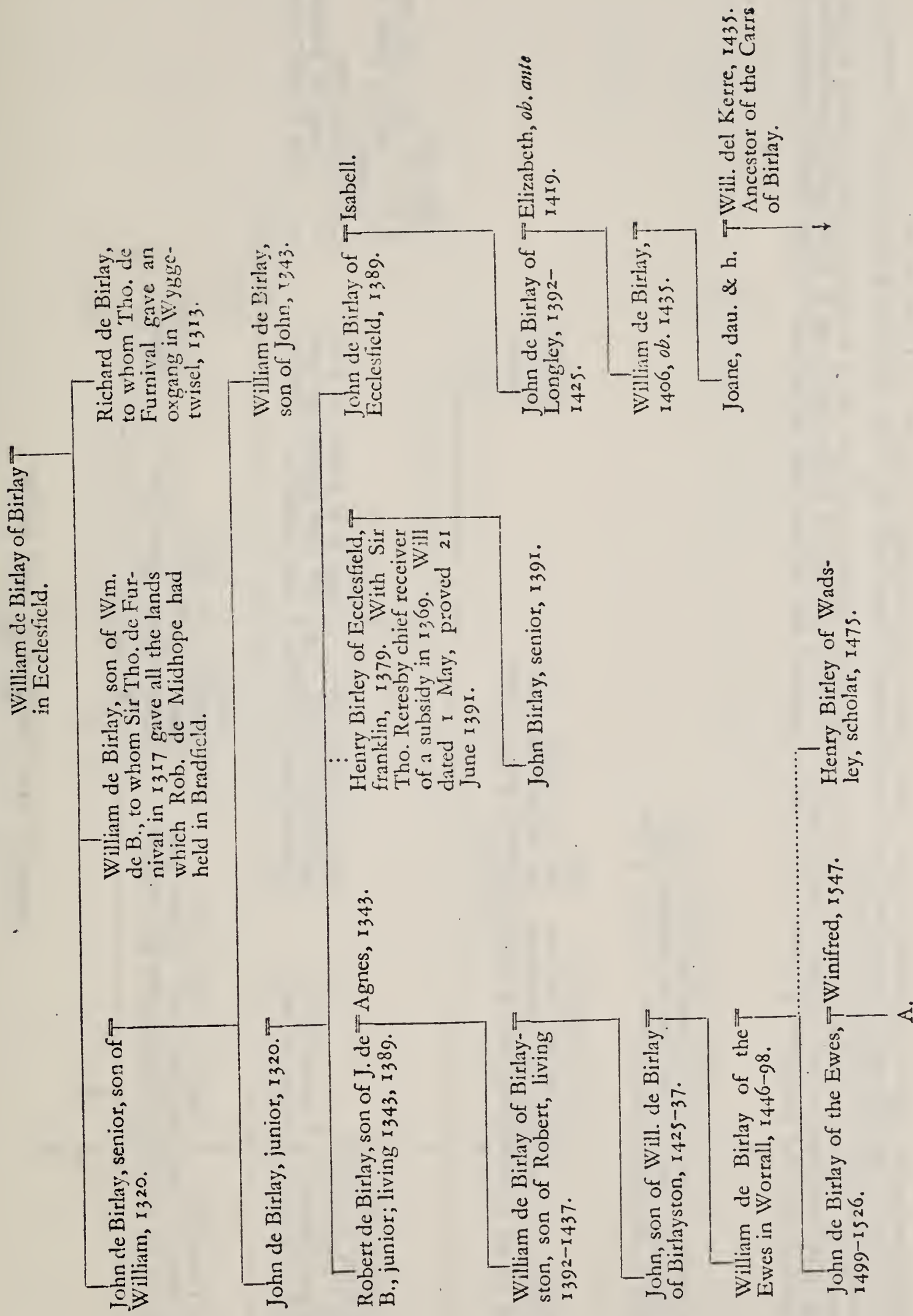
(F) Shrewsbury MSS., vol. 'G', p. 470; Lodge's *Illustrations of Brit. Hist.* vol. ii, p. 68.

XVIII (a). THE BIRLEYS OF THE EWES



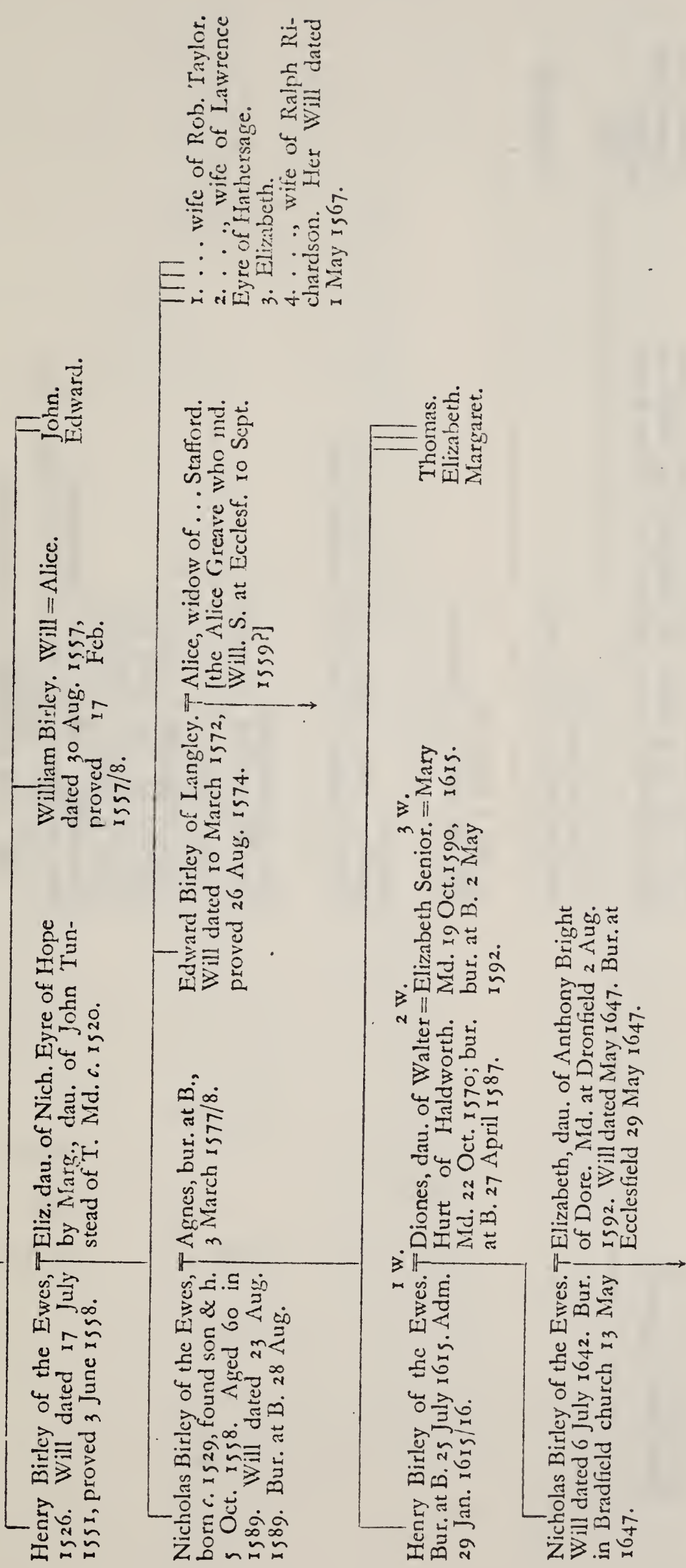
From Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty's *Miscellaneous Pedigrees*, vol. i, p. 274. This descent is said to be given in a lawsuit, of which there was a copy (not now to be found) amongst Sir Alfred's papers. The earlier part is supported by an undated charter quoted in Mr. T. Walter Hall's *Sheffield and Rotherham*, p. 210.

XVIII (b). THE BIRLEYS OF THE EWES



XVIII (b). THE BIRLEYS OF THE EWES.

A.



See Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty's *Miscellaneous Pedigrees*, vol. i. Birley in Ecclesfield took its name from the Birlayston, a stone pedestal surmounted by a pillar which is first mentioned in 1161. William de Birley living in 1392-1437 is described as 'of Birlayston'. See T. Walter Hall's *Descriptive Catalogue of Charters*; B.M. Addit. MS. 24467, fos. 51-71, 123; Addit. MS. 29442, fo. 38; Hunter's *Dean. Donc.* vol. ii, p. 196; S. O. Addy's *Hall of Waltham*, p. 52; Eastwood's *Ecclesfield*, p. 445; *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 657.

There was a family of the same name at Berlay near Drax. Robert de Berlay, living *temp.* Ric. I, was son of Sir Richard de Berlay, grandson of Henry, and great-grandson of William. William had a brother named Haldan. See Dodsworth's *Collections*, vol. 117, p. 19; vol. viii, p. 167.

XIX. THE STEADS OF ONESACRE

Peter de Stede of Stede in $\overline{\text{T}}$ Joane, a widow Wentworth, 1387-8, afterwards of Onesacre in Bradfield. *Ob. ante* 1418. Probably grandson of the Peter described as 'franklin' in 1379.

John de Stede of Onesacre, $\overline{\text{T}}$ 1420. *Ob. ante* 1457.

Robert de Stede of Onesacre, $\overline{\text{T}}$ Matilda, 1420. living 7 August 1420. *Ob. ante* 1457.

John de Stede of Onesacre. $\overline{\text{T}}$ *Ob. ante* 9 Aug. 1495.

Nicholas Stede, living 9 Aug. $\overline{\text{T}}$ 1495, and 22 June 1535. John Stede.

John Stead of Ones- $\overline{\text{T}}$ acre, 1535.

John Stead, 1553.

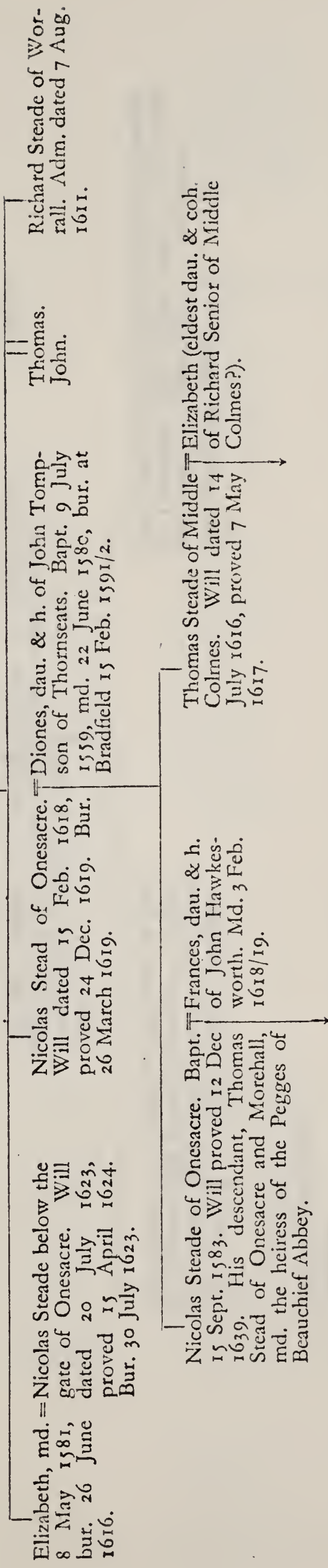
Nicholas Stead of Ones- $\overline{\text{T}}$ Margaret, dau. of John Revell acre, 1534. Will dated of Smallfield. Md. 2ndly, 18 28 April, proved 25 Nov. 1571, to Roland Thomp-son of Brightomlee. Aug. 1579.

William. Arthur, 1549. Richard, 1531. Robert.

A.

XIX. THE STEADS OF ONESACRE

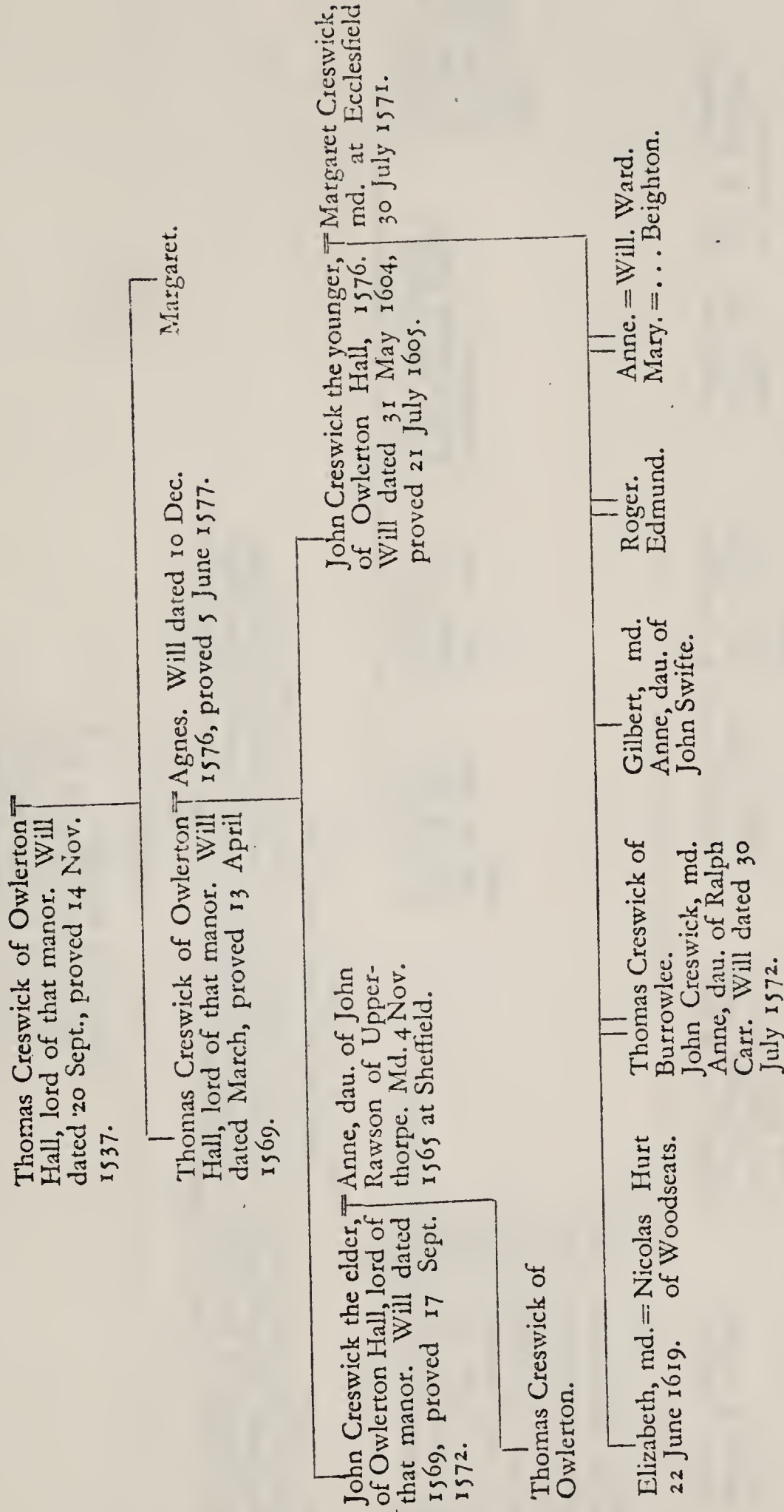
A.



See Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty's *Collections*; Hunt's *Deanery of Doncaster*, vol. ii, pp. 100, 193; *Yorkshire Archaeol. Soc.* vol. xii, p. 298; B.M. Addit. MS. 24467, fos. 63-6; 24471, fo. 323; *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 332, 568, 654, 771, 793.

The Richard Stead whose daughter and coheir married Reginald Hurt, will probably have been son of the Richard of 1531. On the 28th April 1603 it was found by the Court at Sheffield that Richard Steyd, son and heir of Richard Steyd, was dead, seized of a messuage in Ughtibrigge and of divers lands tenements and here- ditaments belonging to it; Gertrude and Anne were his daughters and coheirs. Richard Turner and Gertrude his wife, Reginald Hurt and Anne his wife, divide the messuage and lands, which are described. One close, called the Nether Round, abuts on the water of Wharne Cliff. See the muniments at Norfolk House, box x, case i, bundle C; also T. Walter Hall's *Court Rolls of Sheffield*.

XX. THE CRESWICKS OF OWLERTON



For the earlier pedigree see Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty's *Collections*; B.M. Addit. MS. 24467, fos. 51, 62, 71; T. Walter Hall's *Sheffield and Rotherham*, p. 47. In 1405 William Cresewyk, who was lord of the manor of Coldabbey in Surrey, and evidently a very wealthy and influential citizen of London, left certain lands by Will to his 'kinsman and right heir', John Cresewyk of Sheffield.

XXI. THE HEDELEYS OF SAVILE HALL

Richard Hedeley of Dodworth, 1540-1.

Thomas Hedeley of Savile Hall in Dodworth, which he bought in 1573. Bur. at Silkston 6 Aug. 1578. Will dated 28 July, proved 28 Aug. 1578 at York.

1 H.

Richard Hedeley of Savile Hall, md. at Bradfield, 13 June 1579, bur. at Silkston 28 Feb, 1581/2. Will dated 24 Feb. 1581, proved 25 October 1582.

2 H.

Diones, dau. of Richard Greaves of Morewood in Bradfield, bur. at Silkston 10 Dec. 1611. Mentioned in the Will of her mother. Anne Greaves, 1606, being then wife of Nich. Hurt.

Nicholas Hurt, md. at Silkston 22 Dec. 1583. Described as of Savile Hall, 1600 & 1611.

Agnes, bapt. at Silkston 12 Feb. 1579/80.

Thomas Hedeley of Savile Hall, bapt. at Silkston 13 April 1581; bur. there 21 May 1613. Will dated 18 May, proved at York 1 July 1613. He and his sister are mentioned in the Wills of his grandfather Rich. Greaves, 1588, and of his grandmother, Anne Greaves, 1606.

Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, bapt. 18 Dec. 1584 at Silkston.

Gertrude, bapt. 16 Dec. 1586, at S.

John and Helena,* bapt. 8 March 1587/8, at Silkston.

Richard, bapt. 21 Dec. 1590, bur. 16 March 1590/1, at Silkston.

Thomas, bapt. at S. 27 March 1608, bur. 2 Aug. 1610.†

Thomas Hedeley, bapt. at S. 23 Dec. 1612.†

Richard, *fil. & hares* Tho. Headily', bapt. 14 April, bur. 16 Aug. 1611.

Ann, bapt. at = Will. Shillito, S., 17 March md. at Silkston 13 Nov. 1604/5.†

Sara, bapt. = John Greene, at S., 1 Jan. md. at Silkston. 1602/3. 21 June 1623.

* Helena may be the 'Ellen, dau. of Nicholas Hurt', who was buried at Handsworth, 5 April 1620.

† Brooke's Collection in the College of Arms (17 H., Staincross Wapentake).

‡ From the archbishop's transcripts of the Silkston register.

For other notices of persons of the name see *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 587, 752.

XXII. THE SKYERS OF HAY GREEN

John Skyers of Skyers Hall. = Ann, dau. of Frechville D. before 1498. Mon. at Wentworth.

Ralph Skyers of Alder- = ... dau. of Wentworth thwaite, 1498. of Adwick le Street.

John Skyers of Alderthwaite. = Elizabeth Oke of Eastwood, nr. Rotherham. Will dated 16 April 1559.

Thomas Skyers of Alderthwaite, = Agnes, dau. of Rich. 1559. Entered his pedigree at Parker of Brampton Bierlow. Living 1607. Buried at W. 28 Jan. 1610/11.

William Skyers of = Elizabeth, living Wentworth. Will 1614. dated 21 Sept. 1614.

John Skyers, eldest son, md. Martha, dau. of Rich. Lord, Vicar of Ecclesfield, by whose Will dated 22 June and proved at York 30 April 1601, she was heir to a fourth of his goods.

Thomas Skyers of Hay Green. Will dated 26 April 1639, proved Aug. 1641. Bur. at Worsborough 31 March 1640/1.

Joan, her Will as widow of — Taylor dated 30 Nov. 1665.

William Skyers of Barbot Hall, md. at Rotherham June 1629, to Mercy Drew. Will dated 1 Feb. 1647.

Robert Skyers of West Melton, bapt. at Went. 22 July 1604. Will dated 31 May 1658.

Joan, wife of Thomas Jessop. — Elizabeth, wife of Rich. Foulston, md. at Went. 24 Oct. 1609.

William Skyers of Hay Green, = Dorothy Cooper of Wentworth, bapt. at Went. 30 July 1634, md. 6 May 1656, bur. at Worsborough 20 Jan. 1698/9. bur. 27 Sept. 1714. Will dated 16 Aug. 1714.

Eliz., wife of Daniel Ellis. Bapt. at W. 2 Feb. 1631/2, md. at Worsborough 19 March 1654.

Ann, wife of Will. Singleton, bapt. 11 July 1639 at Wors.

Ann, wife of Nicholas Hurt. — Margaret, wife of Lawrence Pearson.

Josiah Stephenson of Rotherham, gent. = Jane Skyers, md. at Wors. = John Kighley, clerk 3 June 1684, bur. there in Holy Orders, lecturer at Wors. 9 June 1709.

Elizabeth Skyers, = Edward Satterthwait of the White Hall in Greasborough, gent. One of the Guardians of Jonathan Hurt.

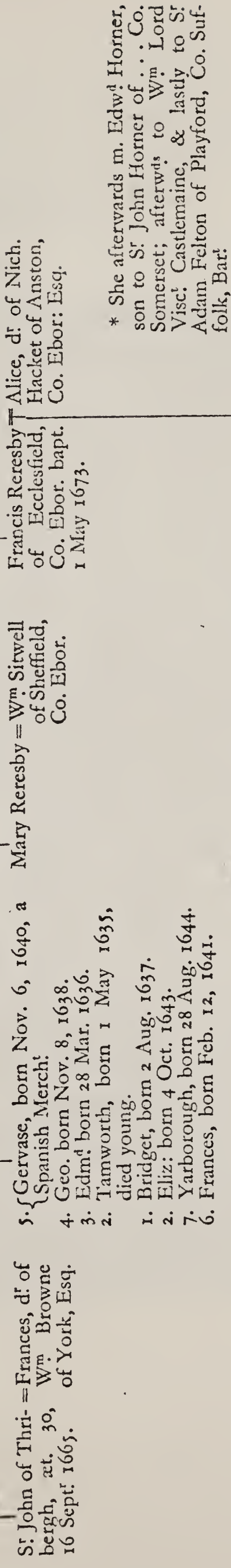
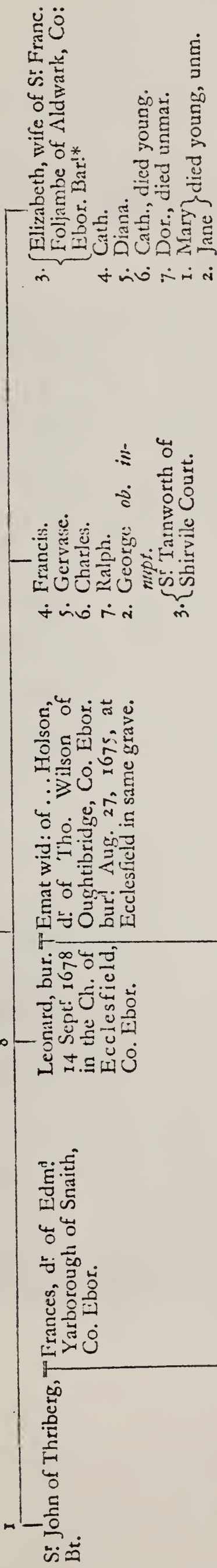
Dorothy Stephenson, md. = Edmund Mower of Newark, gent., born 1687, bur. 7 Dec. 1719.

XXIII. THE RERESBYS OF ECCLESFIELD

Tho: Reresby of Thribergh Co^m Ebor. Esq., living A: 1585 ⚭ Mary, dau^r of Tho: Babington of Dethick in Com^e Dorset [Derby] Esq.

S: Tho: Reresby K: of Thribergh, died May 1619 ⚭ Margery, dau^r of S: John Mounson of South Careton in Com. Linc. K:

8



* She afterwards m. Edw: Horner, son to S: John Horner of ... Co. Somerset; afterw^ds to W^m Lord Visc: Castlemaine, & lastly to S: Adam Felton of Playford, Co. Suffolk, Bar:

N.B. This Roll I had from Franc. Hurt 1755.
This pedigree is taken from Pegge's collections in the College of Arms, vol. vi, 'Derbyshire, biography'.

APPENDIX II

ICKLES

THE Ickles, now known as Ickles Hall, faces north-east and south-west, but for convenience these aspects will be referred to as north and south. Of the older timber-framed manor-house, comprising in 1358 a hall, four chambers, and a kitchen, nothing now remains. The existing building is of stone, and consists of a central block, erected about 1580, and an eastern wing, added in 1630 or a few years earlier. A banqueting-room, built about the year 1610, stood on the west until 1904, when it was pulled down. These dates, suggested by the well-known architect and antiquary, Mr. Clapham, are in agreement with what is known of the history of the house. The central portion, as has been stated in the text, was probably built in 1586 by Thomas Reresby as a home for his eldest son, Sir Thomas, who married in 1586-7; Sir George, son of Sir Thomas, may have added the western wing in 1610, when he set up house at the Ickles; the eastern about 1620, for he continued there for some years after 1619, being kept out of Thrybergh by his mother. Yet without the eastern wing, the northern front presents an elevation so ill-balanced as to be inconceivable, and one must therefore presume that it had a predecessor, constructed perhaps of wood and plaster.

The approach is from the north. On this front a projecting chimney between two cross-mullioned windows on the east and one on the west marked the position of the hall, which was nineteen feet deep by twenty-eight wide and only about eight feet high. This apartment, now divided into two rooms, stretched across the existing passage on the south, the beams of the ceiling resting beyond upon one of greater scantling. At the further end of the hall, separated from it by a wood and plaster partition under the massive beam already mentioned, a small room lit by a cross-mul-

lioned window occupies the centre of the southern front, having on the east an entry leading to the garden, on the west a servants' staircase lighted in two stories by windows of the form already mentioned.

The entrance into the hall may have been on the eastern side; it cannot have been the present door to the west of the chimney, as in 1897 this space was occupied by a window. In the eastern wing, adjoining the hall, stood the principal staircase, which will have had a square landing on the south, over the garden door. To the west of the hall, approached from the first landing of the backstairs, which have Elizabethan balusters and solid oak steps under the planking, was a banqueting hall about thirty feet long by twenty wide; the levels being awkward, one had to mount five or six steps within it at the south-east corner. This room was oak-panelled, ceiled with a flattened cove of plaster, and furnished with a fireplace which, according to the writer's recollection, stood about the centre of the eastern wall; on the north was a window of ten lights in two tiers, and on the south another with cross-mullions looked out upon the garden. In the western wall a second doorway near the north-west corner opened upon the platform of an outside stairway of stone. Under the northern end of the banqueting-room there was probably a kitchen, using the chimney-stack which served the room above, and adjoining it on the west stood an old scullery or back kitchen, shown in the photographs of 1897. Behind the scullery on the south there was a dairy.

The wing to the east has been altered beyond recognition, but the windows on the southern front show that it cannot be much later than the rest. Mr. Clapham put it at about 1600, then, on further consideration, at 1630; judging from the history of the house, 1619 or 1620 is the date most probable. The staircase, lighted on the first floor by a long south window of eight lights and by a smaller window on the story above, occupies the original position; the part of the building covered by the eastern gable had also two windows, one of three long lights upon the ground floor, the other above it of four lights in two tiers. This

wing must have contained the Little Parlour and Nursery mentioned in 1653, together with two or three bedrooms.

To deal now with the upper rooms in the central block: most of the space over the hall was taken up by the principal bedroom, known in 1653 as 'My ladie's Chamber'. But a part, as is shown by the return mould of the ceiling, was reserved for a passage, necessary for communication between the two wings. Beyond this passage was a small bedroom without a fireplace lighted by a cross-mullion window of the southern front, and to the east of Lady Reresby's chamber there was another looking out towards the north. On the story above were four garrets, of which one is in a gable hidden by the hall chimney; this has a slight recess in the chimney breast, intended perhaps to give access to the flues, and, being unfit for occupation, may have been used for lumber or as a drying-room.

In the hearth-tax rolls of 1660-74, Ickles is assessed at nine hearths. Hall, kitchen, back kitchen, banqueting-room, Lady Reresby's chamber, and perhaps the chamber to the east of the latter, will account for five or six. The brick chimney which at one time gave corner fireplaces to the two small central rooms on the southern front is not very old, and there is no reason to think that an earlier one occupied the same position. We are thus left short of three hearths, possibly of four, and must locate them in the eastern wing, which internally has been so much altered that the original planning cannot be traced.

The space given over to the two staircases on the south front part shows that the old house was not cramped for room. Sir George Reresby and his wife continued to occupy it for some years after his father's death in 1619, and from 1628 to 1647 his widow resided there, having a jointure of £400 a year, which would be equal to at least £1,800 of modern money before the war. With her were her three daughters, Jane, Diana, and Dorothy Reresby, young ladies of expensive tastes and very fond of society, as is shown by the Wills at York. In July 1641, they were all above fifteen years of age. Yet in the central block we cannot find bedrooms for more than two of them, nor the spare

room which would surely be necessary for an occasional guest. The men-servants may have slept over the stables, but when cook, kitchen-maid, and lady's maid have been provided for in the three habitable garrets, we cannot find room for a single housemaid. It is clear that there must have been two or three bed-chambers in the eastern wing.

In 1648 or 1649, Lady Reresby let Ickles with her furniture in it on lease to Nicholas Hurt, and went to reside in London. The latter by his Will of 1653 gave his widow—she was his third wife—the option of retaining certain rooms for her own use, namely the 'kitchen, little parlor and nurserie, the maides' Garretts and closets, and my ladie's Chamber'. This sentence implies the existence of a great parlour (probably the banqueting-room), a second kitchen, and of bedrooms for Mrs. Hurt's three step-children, Nicholas, Valentine, and Christian, aged respectively eighteen, fourteen, and thirteen, as also for the servants. The part of the house thus set aside for Mrs. Hurt was probably one-third, according to custom* and also to proportion, for Nicholas held two-thirds of the estate. The hall and banqueting-room would serve him with his brother and sister for dining-room and parlour; Mrs. Hurt's son may have slept in the little northern bedroom, her step-daughter, Christian, in the chamber next her on the east, some of the servants in the maids' garrets. But except in the eastern wing we cannot find room for the little parlour, the nursery, the bedrooms for Nicholas, Valentine, and for their servants.

We may now deal with the exterior. On the northern front the three windows on the ground-floor were those of the hall; they were originally divided into four lights by cross-mullions. On the right the banqueting-room, now destroyed, had under it some offices partly sunk in the ground. These apparently included a kitchen, as the doorway of one of the outbuildings indicates that it was a back-kitchen. On the first floor the two central windows were those of Lady Reresby's chamber; that to the left lighted

* The third part of the manor-house at Alderwasley set out for Mrs. Lowe, widow of Edward Lowe, Esquire, in 1650, included the kitchen, dining-parlour, old parlour, maid's chamber, together with the bedchamber she and her late husband had occupied. See *Alderwasley and the Hurts*, p. 76.

a bedroom over the eastern part of the hall, and the ten-light window divided into two tiers of five opened into the banqueting-room. The second floor comprised four garrets, one of which is hidden from view by the great chimney.

On the south, or garden front, a cross-mullioned window on the left belonged to the banqueting-room, now no longer existing. Below it was a two-light window opening into the dairy. In 1905, the occupier complained to the present writer that since the banqueting-room had been taken down, the milk could no longer be kept sweet. Under the second gable (the first has been destroyed), the two cross-mullioned windows light the backstairs, which are as old as the house itself; on the ground floor there is a very small pantry. In the centre of the house, below the lead-flat, there have also been two cross-mullioned windows, one under the other. When these were altered and the existing small windows put in at a somewhat lower level, the string course was chipped off, except a small length which may be seen on the left under the second gable.* The toolmarks show that this string course ran as far as the eight-light window.

The chimney rising from the lead-flat is of brick, and not part of the original design. The long window (eight lights in two tiers) of the principal staircase has not been tampered with; the masonry around it seems to be undisturbed, and it is properly tied-in at middle and top, though not at the bottom. Under it at the west corner is the garden door, which has a pretty curved moulding now hidden by the walling. A window in the floor above opens also upon the staircase. The part of this wing covered by the furthest gable may be a few years later than the rest, but there was probably an earlier structure upon the site, thrown back a little, as is suggested by the coigns upon the western edge below the third gable. Here the mullioned window of three long lights may have opened into the Little

* The wall connecting the two central gables is evidently an addition to the plan. This is shown by the thickness of the walls on either side of what was originally a recess, as well as by the appearance of the stone-work and of the windows. It is later, but very little later, in date.

Parlour, that above it of four lights in two tiers into the nursery.

It is unfortunate that no illustration of the house as it was before the destruction of the banqueting-room can be given. The writer had several photographs taken in 1897, but these were lost two or three years ago, and apparently no others are in existence.

APPENDIX III

THE BALGUY LETTERS

These were originally published in volumes xii, xviii, and xxii of the *Reliquary*. They are here reprinted in order of date.

PHILLIS BALGUY TO THOMAS HEATON

ffor Mr. Heaton Jun'r att
Sheffield these

[Hope] *March* the 10th [1717?]

All the world allows Mr. Heaton to be a man of proffound sense and judgement, and tis certainly a great honour you doe me in offering your advice, which is allways pleasing when tis agreeable to our own Inclinations, otherwise you know our sex is very obstinate. In order to ffollow itt i'me goeing to Castleton ffair to see if any mortall will say yes to save the expense of sending the Sermons; nobody will have me, what can I do but lead Apes. You had better by halfe send me a Lover or putt me in a way to gett one, ffor they are very scarce in the Peak. But as that is a hard task, I'll compound for some good intelligence ffrom Italy* when it ffalls your way, or any thing elice of moment will be axceptable to your obliged humble serv't,

P. B.

You will excuse hast for the reason I have given you before. Mrs. Statham sends you her service and make the same complaints, so pray take care to supply [both] when you are doeing.

PHILLIS BALGUY TO THOMAS HEATON

For Mr. Tho. Heaton.

[Hope] *April* the 20th. [1717].

I must allways say Mr. Heaton is very obligeing, but am sorry to give you so much trouble, which I can never make

* The Old Pretender left Avignon for Italy on the 6th February 1717.

a return for. In answer to the news part of your Letter, I shall aply the old proverb, when knaves fall out* honest men gets their right, which I hope will prove the happy event. I dont know what possess's my niece Nancy† with such a ffancy, but she think it odd that imediately after you mention Mr. Sheireclifes‡ weding you offer your service to her. It is very backward spring, our willows are not yet put out, which is all the news I can pretend to send you. The charmer is at your service (I am at a distance from all elice) as is your obliged servant

P. BAL.

When will you take a trip & see us again, will you come to our ffair?

PHILLIS BALGUY TO THOMAS HEATON

For Mr. Thomas Heaton
Jun'r in Sheffield.

[Hope] *Nov. 20th.* [1717].

You guess'd very rightly when you said I should be surprized to see a letter from you, for you had been silent so long that I had given over all expectation of that sort. But so Grand an occasion as the birth of a royal Whelp|| will give a loose to tongues and pens and all, and as a compliment for the favour of your Intelligence I assure you I reserve all my Demonstrations of joy upon the occasion till I see you, that we may rejoice together.

I now quite dispair of better news. The King of Sweden§ has no buseness here now. The People at Lancaster shows there is a little spiritt left yet amongst em. Tis the only piece of news I have observed with any sattisfaction a long time, for there is nether fforeign nor Domestick worth takeing

* Townshend was dismissed on the 5th April 1717, and Walpole followed him out of office. 'The parties of Walpole and Stanhope', wrote Pope in June of that year, 'are as violent as Whig and Tory.'

† She was a daughter of Henry Balguy, and married at Sheffield in 1720 to the Rev. John Downes, Minister of St. Paul's.

‡ Thomas Shirecliffe, afterwards of Whitley Hall. He was married at Sheffield on the 12th April 1717.

|| George William, fifth child of the Prince of Wales, was born on the 2nd November 1717.

§ Charles XII, who, in conjunction with the Spanish under Cardinal Alberoni, meditated an invasion of England. He died on the 11th December 1718.

nottice of that I hear. I pleased myself a long time with the thought of seeing Sheffield and dont despair of it yett, tho I cant fix a time; I hope it wont be long, but I hear you design to come of this side soon and possibly I may be determined by then. I can think of nothing that is worth the trouble of reading, so will release you with an assurance of being, Sir, your obliged humble serv't

P. BALGUY.

My Mother sends her service. My Bro. is in Town.

PHILLIS BALGUY TO THOMAS HEATON

For Mr. Tho. Heaton
at Sheffield, these

[Hope] *Dec.* the 19th. [1717].

I had answer'd your obligeing letter last Tusday, but I thought the Markett day would allow you no time for impertinent matters, therefore defer'd it till this time, that I might be as little troublesome as possible.

I can entertain no other nottion of the differences at Court,* than that it is a concerted piece of pollicy to oblige (as far as they can) both partties. The generallity of people are selfish enough to prefer a private interest to a publick good, and there is little reason to hope for any extraordinary matters whilst that spiritt reigns. Yet I have some thoughts which keeps up my spiritts tho upon a slender ffoundation, and I dare not for my life sollicit my ffriends for further information, because I'me not capable of being serviceable and consequently not proper to be entrusted. So must be content with my own empty nottions and what intelligence I receive from you and the publick. But you are to wise a man to communicate to ffreely to one of my sex, but as far as is consistent with your honour will be very obligeing, for matters seems mysterious.

I should be very glad to see you. My Xmas will be divided betwixt the Okes & home, but which end will fall to which share I cant determine till Tusday. Resplendant

* In November 1717, the differences between the King, the Prince, and their supporters had become a European scandal.

Mrs. ffaney says [she is at] your service. My mother sends you her service, but none is more your obliged humble servant than

P. B.

I expect a world of news back. Excuse hast, service to all friends.

PHILLIS BALGUY TO THOMAS HEATON

For Mr. Heaton juniour

at Sheffield

These

[Hope] *March* the 24th. [1718].

Your obligeing letter gave us a great deall of sattisfaction, & we all rejoyced to hear you gott well home, for twas more than we expected when the day proved so indifferent, & you so ill prepared for walking in a pair of jack-bootts. You was very obligeing in remembering so exactly every thing that you promised, but I am sorry you should have given your selfe the trouble of sending the Tea, which was over & above; I fear itt was oweing to what we 2 mad Girlls said to you in jest, but we desire you will doe us the Justice to believe our acknowllegementts are very sincere both for that & other ffavours.

I am sorry there is so little reason to expect a visitt from his Sweedish Majesty, which I now dispair of, for itt is my oppinion that if they had any apprehensions of an Invasion they durst never have been so barefaced as to have attempted repealling the Schism* act att this time, which if they are not all mad will certainly open the eyes of the nattion & inform em (if they are not yett sattisfied) what they must expect if the present Government continues. I long to hear whether itt takes or nott. Tis so much trouble Ime ashamed to desire itt, or if you have time we should be very much obliged to you if you will continue the entertaining accounts, for you are very sencible this is a very dull place & itt is a great charitty to communicate matters to

Sir, your obliged humble servant

PHILL: BALGUY.

* Conferences upon the subject were held in London at the beginning of the year 1718, but the Act was not repealed until the 7th January 1719.

We'll take care to return your Books safe when read. My Mama & Brother Balguy send you their service, so does Killing ffaney, but says she wants Brunswick, the song you promised. My neice Naney desired you will except of her service; mine to your ffather. I design to write treason to all my corispondents to enjoyn em to burn my nonsencicale scrolls. Pray commit this to the ffames for your safety & mine, pardon ffaults, & dispose of my service as due to all ffriends. ffaney Statham desires her service to your ffather.

PHILLIS BALGUY TO THOMAS HEATON

For Mr. Heaton Jun'r
at Sheffield
These

[Hope] *April* the 4th. [1718].

I shall now proceed to Adress your worshipe in the due form & order according to your merritts, which is infinitely beyond what I am able to express, but we poor Peakerills are not much skilled in Rethoick, but what we want in that is made up in grateful heartts & acknowllegements of our ffriends favours. My long letter was designed only for a memerandum for the Boy that carried itt, & not to make ittts appearance to you by way of Epistle, therefore I beg you will pardon itt & continue the ffavour of your Letters, which is the only account of matters that we have that we can relie on, & Ile assure you gives us great entertainment.

I have quite given over all hopes of seeing his Majesty of Sweeden here; I fear the desent is not designed for the service of our Dear Disstress'd Monaeth, whom I prey God preserve, but we live in hope you know. I want mightily to hear that the Schism bill is repealed, & daily pray for itt; I would have em pull of the mask & show themselves without any reserve, & then we shall know what to trust to.

In return for yours I have 2 pieces of news to acquaint you with; one is a very unwellcome one I dare say, which is that poor Mr. Cresswell* is much out of order, but I hope in no dangerous way, the other is the most surprizing thing

* Vicar of Hope. He died about 1722.

that you ever heard. Can you believe your Eyes when you read that Pure Love is at Last arrived here & disdains Sheffield so much now the Killer of Killers is not there that he does not so much as design to honour the Town with a Look. He disownes you all, & says you are a parcell of lyeing Reprobates, for he designs to take ffaney to himselfe very soon, for he neither can nor will live longer without her, his dear Jewell he says she is. But pray be cautious of telling Mr. Hurt, for poor man itt may be of ill consequence to him.

I ask pardon for not sending my Lord Lansdown* back, but we really hant read em yet. The ffair Lady before mention'd desires you will send her half an ounce of Snuff,† but she is so intirely disposed off that you must excuse her att present, if I dont join her with my Mama Brother & Neice who all send their service, & believe that I likewise am

Your very humble servant whilst

P. BALGUY.

Pray send us any pamphlets or any pritty entertaining things to comfort Naney & I. We have no Pure Love, not we. Mr. Lister‡ is in the Parlor.

PHILLIS BALGUY TO THOMAS HEATON

For Mr. Heaton Jun'r, these

[Hope] April 17 [1718].

If Mr. Heaton will be so obligeing to communicate to his friends what now happens it will be very agreeable. The Torrys begin to Look very pert again, I hope there will no 2d. damp,|| if there is adieu for ever. We have very plausible storys told, but whether they are altogether to be depended upon I cannot pretend to determine. The scheme seems well laid, the day is fixed, & that God Almighty will give a blessing to em is the constant & hearty prayer of yours,

P. B.

* Probably the 1716 edition of his Poems. He was a noted Jacobite.

† The custom of ladies taking snuff came in about 1711. See the *Spectator*, No. 344.

‡ Probably one of the Listers of Shibden Hall. See *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 515.

|| This refers to Alberoni's preparations in November 1717, which were paralysed by Byng's victory of August 1718.

Tis late, & Ime afraid I shant gett to send this scroll;
please excuse itt. Mrs. Lister allias Hurst & my niece
Nancy Balguy send you their service.

PHILLIS BALGUY & FRANCES STATHAM TO THOMAS
HEATON

[Hope.]

Killing ffaney and myselfe being upon the ramble call'd
to make your Cozen Hall* a visit, where we was inform'd
that Isack design'd to doe the same to you to morrow, and
we was glad of the opportunerty of telling you that we are
allmost starved to Death an can gett nothing to keep us
warm, not even so much as pure Love nor nothing. So we
desire you will take pittty on us and send us some comfort-
able thing to prevent our being quite ffroze to Death, but
we don't care for brandy, we woud have some thing that
will eat.

Witness our hands

PHILL. BALGUY.
and FRAN. STATHAM.

PHILLIS BALGUY TO THOMAS HEATON

For Mr. Heaton

At Sheffield

These

[Hope] *June* the 10th [1718?]
God bless the King.†

I shall allways acknowllege the ffavour you doe me in
continueing your obligeing corrispondence, which I am
sure my lazyness has no claim to, for I am really ashamed of
my own remiseness in so long neglecting to answer my
ffriends letters. But the dislike I have to writing & being
conssious to my selfe that I doe itt so indifferantly is the
occasion of my silence & not disregarde or the want of
a due sense of the obligation Ime under to those that will
give themselves the trouble to write to me.

* One of the Halls of Edale in Castleton, four miles from Hope. The cousinship
would probably be through the Steads of Onesacre. See *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 327-8,
568, 1152.

† The 10th of June was the birthday of the Old Pretender.

I was in some hopes that you would have took a Tour to Buxton to Celibrate this good Holy day. My friend ffaney & my selfe has endeavour'd to express our reguarde to itt by adorning the Church, this house, the shops, & all other Houses that woud lett us with Oke. We likewise wear itt our selves & putt itt in all peoples hatts that pass by or that are in the Town, & have had the Bells rung. What will be the consequence God knows, but I suppose we shall be travelling to Derby in a little time; I hope you wont fforgett us in our Distress, but bestow a Charittable visit.

I sincerely pledged you, & design to repeat itt before I sleep, but as there is no pleasure without an allay, the disappointment of nott seeing our friends att Bradfield Wakes to day putts a Damp upon our spiritts. But we must have recourse to that sad thing called patience upon fforce. 'Tis an ill wind that blows no profitt, for we think itt will make us the better wives, & that thought healls all again. I thank you for your Intelligence & am

Sir, your obliged humble serv't

P. B.

Mad'm ffaney is yours.

PHYLLIS BALGUY TO THOMAS HEATON

For Mr. Heaton, Jun'r

Att Sheffield

These

[Hope] *Sept'r* the 15th. [1718].

I have had hopes given me by our people that goes to Sheffield for the last ffortnight that I should once more have the sattisfaction of hearing from Mr. Heatton, the consequence of which I hope would have been some gratefull intelligence from our ffriends in Spain, Sweden,* &c., but finding my selfe disapointed I must address you in a matter of importance.

We are inform'd there was a remarkable letter at your Post office last Tusday directed for Mr. John Bernard in

* The death of Charles XII in December 1718 put an end to the confederation between Sweden and Spain.

Hope, which is a directtion that is some times meant to a friend of ours. The carelessness of the person who ought to enquire for our letters neglected it last Tusday, & this letter coming from beyond sea & being of so large a size, so large a seall & so fine a hand, made it took nottice of & enquirey was made of some of Hope people if there was any person of that name in the Town, but they knowing nothing of the matter who it was design'd for, took no nottice of it, only to mention they had seen such a letter as I described which gave us nottice & we sent for it upon ffryday. But Mrs. Turner sent word a man had paid for it Tusday evening & she knew no more of it, which you must imagine puts us in some concern.

Haveing a particular confidence in you, we beg you woud make some enquirey about it. I know you can doe it with that caution it wont be took nottice of, and pray lett us know as soon as you possibly can: I am in hopes you will excuse this trouble & believe we shall all ways have a grateful sense of the ffavour you doe us, & that you will assure your selfe that I ever shall be with great sincerity

Sir, your obliged humble serv't

P. BALGUY.

I am very much concern'd to hear of Poor Mr. Lodge's Death; I fear we shall loose all honnest people soon. All here are your servants. If you hant time to write to morrow, you may against Thursday, for a 100 people from this place goes to your Town to fetch Ezra Caulton's* old maid that was, and she is likewise to be squired by abundance of Sheffield Beaus. I hope you'll be one.

PHILLIS BALGUY TO THOMAS HEATON

Hope Jan. the 29th [1718-19].

I must allways say good Mr. Heaton, you are most extremely obligeing & I shall ever acknollege it. I had no reason to expect the ffavour of yours to day haveing never had the maners to return thanks for the last before yett.

* One of the Town Trustees; in 1710 he is described as 'sword cutler', in 1713 as 'gentleman'. Hunter, *Archæol. Soc.* vol. i, pp. 175-6.

I am no judge, but I think things look ill & carry the face of a civill war, for controversies runs very high amongst all sortts of people & the nattion is in strange perplext divisions. What will be the event God Almighty knows: I wish it may be happy. As the Clergy has lost their honnour by Perjury & conformity, I believe they will at last renounce all principles, which is fact in those that approve the comprehension. Tis thought the breach is to wide betwixt the Georges ever to be heall'd, strange hands we are gott into, sure it wont allways continue so.

I wish your Intelligence from Italy may prove true. Tis then to be hoped he would be in a condition to assist himselfe; they say the Lady is a Protestant too.* I should be most extremely glad to see you here, I hope the snow wont fright you that you dare not venture, for I manage my pen so ill that I cant express my thoughts to you at this distance, neither is it safe, and I have no present hopes of seeing Sheffield. But if we are not to see you, I beg the continuance of your correspondence, which is very agreeable to

Your obliged
humble servant

P. B.

* The marriage between the Old Pretender and Maria Clementina, daughter of John Sobieski, was arranged in August 1718, but did not take place until the 28th May 1719. James left Rome in February 1719.

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- (1) *Dean. Donc.* vol. ii, p. 87; Wilkinson, *Worsborough*, pp. 35-7, 142-3.
- (2) *Hall of Waltheof*, p. 72.
- (3) E. S. Armitage, *A Key to English Antiq.* 1897, p. 50.
- (4) T. Walter Hall, *Jackson Collection*, p. 8.
- (4a) Aveling's *Roche Abbey*, p. 117; *Dean. Donc.* vol. ii, p. 261, note.
- (5) Foster's *Yorkshire Visitation*, p. 74.
- (6) Hunter, *Deanery of Doncaster*, vol. i, p. 332.
- (7) T. Walter Hall, *Jackson Collection*, p. 214.
- (8) *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Appendix, 9th Report; *Yorks Archæol. Rec. Soc.* vol. liv, pp. xviii, 298.
- (9) *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 653, 884.

CHAPTER XI

- (1) *Aldermasley and the Hurts*, 1909, p. 76.
- (2) B.M. Addit. MS. 24460, fo. 128.
- (3) *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 798.
- (4) " " " pp. 900, 902.
- (5) " " " pp. 735, 898; Wilkinson's *Worsborough*, p. 328.
- (6) *Statutes*, vol. vi, p. 372; Blackstone, book ii, chapter xxxii.
- (7) *Williams upon Real Property*, 1914, p. 28.

CHAPTER XIII

- (3) Eastwood's *Ecclesfield*.
- (4) Hunter, *Archæol. Soc.* vol. i, p. 178.
- (5) *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 393, 1206, 1219; Subsidy Rolls, bundle 210, no. 393, and bundle 210, no. 411.

- (6) John Davison. See Guest's *Rotherham*, p. 679.
- (7) *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 531.
- (8) B.M. Addit. MS. 24460, fo. 127.
- (9) Wilson collection *penes* Canon Wilson at Bolsterstone, index, p. 335; CCXXXVI, 92.
- (10) Collins, bundle 534, no. 11.
- (11) *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 548.
- (12) See Chancery Proceedings, Mitford, before 1714, bundle 389, no. 62; bundle 394, no. 35.
- (13) Renishaw papers, 1861 schedule, box 8, bundle 81.
- (14) Guest's *Rotherham*, p. 380.
- (15) *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 463, 888-90.
- (16) See Laughton in Foster's *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, and *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 1079.
- (17) Hunter's *Hallamshire*, 1819, p. 231.
- (18) See the pedigree in Hunter's *South Yorkshire*; also *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 602, 786, 990.
- (19) Eastwood's *Ecclesfield*, p. 405; Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii, p. 48. Foster's *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, under Westby and Oates of Rawmarsh.

CHAPTER XIV

- (1) *Derb. Archæol. Journal*, vol. iv, p. 39.
- (2) B.M. Addit. MS. 6675, p. 301; *Derb. Archæol. Journal*, vol. iv, p. 37; S. P. A. Statham's *The Descent of the Family of Statham*; Hunter's *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 655; Lyson's *Derbyshire*.
- (3) *Sitwell Letters*, vol. ii, p. 73.
- (4) Leader's *Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 306.
- (5) B.M. Addit. MS. 6667, fo. 407.
- (6) *Fam. Min. Gent.* pp. 225, 662.
- (7) *Sitwell Letters*, vol. ii, p. 32.
- (8) Leader's *Burgery*, p. 351.
- (9) Hunter, *Archæol. Soc.* vol. iii, p. 126.

CHAPTER XV

- (1) Giles Hester's *Nevill Simmons*.
- (2) *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 287.
- (3) *Hallamshire*, p. 170.
- (4) *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 701.
- (5) *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 17 January 1908.

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- (1) R. E. Leader, *Old Sheffield*, 1876, p. 105.
- (2) Leader's *Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 9.
- (3) *Sitwell Letters*, vol. ii, p. 209.

- (4) *Hallamshire*, p. 309.
- (5) *Hallamshire*, p. 394.
- (6) *Fam. Min. Gent.* p. 204.
- (7) *Defoe's Review*, vol. v, p. 578.
- (8) *Sitwell Letters*, vol. ii, p. 189.
- (9) See the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 28 November 1846.
- (10) Leader's *Sheffield Royal Infirmary*, p. 9.
- (11) Pegge's collections in the College of Arms.
- (12) Joseph Foster's *Yorkshire Visitations*.

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